

**Rich in Myth, Gold and Narrative:
Aspects of the Central Otago Gold Rush, 1862-2012**

by
Lloyd Carpenter

A thesis
Submitted to the Canterbury University
In fulfilment of the
Requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy
In English

University of Canterbury

2013

For Bronwyn,

and in memory of the 185 people killed in the Christchurch earthquake on February 22, 2011.

Abstract

150 years ago, the carefully-planned Presbyterian settlement of Dunedin was torn apart by the discovery that nearly every stream in Otago was laden with gold. The population exploded, adding the accents of Greece, Tipperary, Victoria, California, Guangdong and the King Country to the Scots burr which had been predominant. Almost immediately a myth of identity emerged, typified by goldfields balladeer Charles Thatcher's 'Old Identity and New Iniquity' and boosted by the histrionics of a press enamoured of the romanticised machinations of the Otago goldfields 'digger'. This popular mythology conflates the imagery of California, Victoria and early Gabriel's Gully to perpetuate stories of desperate, gold-mad miners swarming across the province fighting, drinking and whoring away sparse winnings in a vast and lawless land, where bodies float down the Clutha, diggers battle corrupt police and vast fortunes are won and lost.

This thesis seeks to construct a de-mythologised account of the rush for Central Otago gold, examining the engineering processes, social dynamics and communal relationships implicit in the development of claims, the construction of goldfields structures, the growth of towns and the emergence of financial networks. This explains and reveals the social, technological and economic developments of the gold rush that wrought a profound change on the Otago landscape and to New Zealand's history.

Focussing on the New Zealand Department of Conservation's historic reserve at Bendigo as an exemplary site, this thesis focuses on the people of the goldfields who left traces of themselves in archives, letters, newspapers, court records and in the heritage landscape to explain their mining, commercial and family lives, and concludes by exploring the remnants of their existence in the relic-strewn ghost-town.

By elucidating the depth and breadth of relationships, processes and lives of the residents, miners and merchants, I refute the pervasive myth of innocent simplicity around the era to replace it with a surprisingly complex reality. This complexity is revealed in the new conclusions I draw around the myriad processes behind identity formation, rush events, water race construction, quartz mine development and labour relations, merchant finances and heritage remnants.

Table of Contents

	Page
Abstract	3
Acknowledgements - People	5
- Publications	9
Introduction	11
Section One – Myth	
1. Identity – Place and names	16
2. Race – Finding Te Wherro in Otakou: Otago Māori and the Early Days of the Rush	44
3. Class – The Old Identity and the New Iniquity	72
Section Two – A History of Industrialisation	
4. Seeds of Settlement – Rush narratives and records in a new place.	103
5. Creation of Community –cooperative mining endeavours	
Part 1 - Sluicing	133
Part 2 - Quartz	158
6. Industrialisation – Quartz Company Formation	187
7. Syndicated Mining and Engineering Innovation	214
8. Corporatisation and the 1881 Strike at Bendigo	238
9. Merchants of the goldfields	269
Section Three – Bendigo <i>Redivivus</i>	
10. Heritage and Conclusion	302
Appendix 1 (from Chapter 2) Māori miners in Australia	337
Appendices 2 – 8 (from Chapter 3) Newspaper articles	341
Appendix 9 (from Chapter 7) The Frenchman’s Claim, Manuherikia Junction	347
Bibliography	348

Acknowledgements - People

The first and greatest debt of gratitude is owed to my wonderful, supportive wife Bronwyn who, when I first suggested that it could be possible to pursue my life's dream of writing a Ph.D. on the Central Otago gold rush, said "do it!" and trusted me to get the job done. I could not have completed this without her encouragement, tolerance and financial support.

To my son Jeremy who has endured three years of hearing (at times) a little too much about gold rushes: dreams are worth pursuing; I'm glad you could come on several research trips. To my step-sons Sam and Mike West: your support has been greatly appreciated.

I am grateful to my parents, Bob and Sheila Carpenter, who in 1971 decided to drive for 14 hours in a cramped Austin 1300 from Koromiko to Alexandra. Their idea of distracting a bored 6 year-old by pointing out ruins of miners' cottages as they drove around the district was the start of the process that led me to choosing the Central Otago gold rush as my thesis topic 40 years later. It was a privilege to take Dad around many of the key areas before he became too ill to travel. Mum has looked after my son so I could travel to speak at conferences, do field work and complete research trips on many occasions. My sister Rae Lentz turned into a one-person cheerleading squad on Facebook, celebrating each milestone.

At the University of Canterbury, I have received exemplary support from my supervisory team of Associate Professors Paul Millar and Philip Armstrong. They have set very high standards for me, and have been tolerant of my foibles and obsessions, turning these into useful research with a mixture of cajoling, prodding, advice and cautions against distractions, even if at times, I have not been the quickest to learn. This thesis exists because of their assistance and encouragement.

I have also received tremendous support from the University of Canterbury English Department, most notably Patrick Evans, Howard McNaughton, Christina Stachurski, Jennifer Clements and Christian Long and from departmental administrators Douglas Horrell and Jennifer Middendorf. In the History Department, Geoff Rice and Philippa Mein Smith, Lyndon Fraser, Chris Jones and Rosemary Baird-Williams have all provided useful advice and feedback. Detailed source and research advice from Lyndon Fraser shaped the formation of my chapter on goldfields merchants. History Department administrator Judy Robertson was also a tremendous encourager and gave good advice on procedural and administrative matters. Lindsey MacDonald of Political Science and Patricia Te Arapo Wallace of Aotahi, School of Māori and Indigenous Studies have also provided encouragement. The University of Canterbury Māori Development Team, most especially Ripeka Tamanui-Hurunui, Emma Royal, Ariana Te Whetu and Hemi Inia, were a lifesaving support to me when in 2008, at the end of my Graduate Diploma of Arts course, my father died. Friends from the University of Canterbury have been very important. Office-mates Grant ('Grizz') Cattermole and Mike Potts supported me in more ways than they could ever have known. The friendship and encouragement from fellow Canterbury doctoral candidates Erin Harrington, Rosemary Baird-Williams, Carol Dawber, Cindy Zeiher and Veronica Hoyt has been a lifesaver. Daniel

Leadbetter, who had the wisdom to set up a ‘Cake or Thesis’ support group was also invaluable.

I would also acknowledge the financial support I have received from being the recipient of the University of Canterbury’s Sir Apirana Ngata Centennial Doctoral Scholarship 2010-2013; the New Zealand University Vice Chancellors’ Committee’s Shirtcliffe Fellowship 2010-2013 and a Nga Pae o te Maramatanga Doctoral Scholarship for 2011.

Several staff at the University of Otago proved that the competitive funding model of New Zealand universities has not eliminated cooperation. David Ciccoricco and the Otago English Department were a huge support to me when I arrived in Dunedin one week after our February, 2011 earthquake. Their generosity and encouragement kept me going through what was a tough week to do extra research. Support provided by Tom Brooking (History and Art History) was helpful, and Peter Petchey’s advice on stamper batteries was invaluable. Dr James Ng’s work is the epitome of research on Chinese miners. Between his encyclopaedic four volume *Windows on a Chinese Past* and Neville Ritchie’s ground-breaking Archaeological research into the Chinese in his *Archaeology of the Chinese in Central Otago* doctoral thesis, the bar for studying the rest of the rush has been set very high. Jim Ng’s generosity in giving me a complete set of his wonderful books reduced me to tears of gratitude.

I have been advised and encouraged by three New Zealand archaeologists who were my heroes growing up. When my parents took me to an archaeological dig at Cromwell’s Chinatown in the early 1980s, the archaeologist in charge was so encouraging that he simultaneously ignited my passion for the central Otago gold rush and for the heritage of the rush. I am sure Neville Ritchie spoke enthusiastically about his work to all who visited his dig site, but his influence on me was profound and lifelong. One of the rare privileges of working on this Ph.D. has been to revisit his work and consult him on aspects of what I was looking at. I am also grateful to Jill Hamel, who encouraged me to use her work, particularly *The Rich Fields of Bendigo*. Her generosity in allowing the use of her diagrams and maps was breathtaking. Kevin Jones made his aerial photography of Bendigo available for my study.

The people of Central Otago have been universally encouraging and enthusiastic of my work. Terry Emmitt (Central Otago Publicity officer) is a walking encyclopaedia of Central Otago and a thorough enthusiast for the region. His laconic advice and cheerful prodding saved me from embarrassment. Terry Davis of the Otago Goldfields Heritage Trust, Brenda and Kevin Hayes (who were generous with genealogy enquiries and with the provision of historical Bendigo photographs), John and Heather Perriam of Bendigo station (Heather allowed me free access to areas of the station, particularly Bendigo Gully and the Rise and Shine Basin; her passing is deeply regretted), Colin and Helen Pledger of Rocky Point Pottery, Spin Lucas of 9-Mile Station, David Goodger (descendant of George Wellington Goodger) and David George have all helped my work. Much of Central Otago is now planted in grapes, and many vintners have been generous with advice about their links with the gold rush heritage. Prominent among these are Rudi Bauer of Quartz Reef Wines, Cromwell; Dominic and Abby Mondillo of Mondillo Wines, Bendigo; Jeff Price of Three Miners Wines, Earnscleugh and

Sarah Elliott of Terrasancta Wines. I am grateful to Mike Wallis and Inge Rademeyer of Mi Films for allowing me to use images from their ‘pavlova western’ film *Good for Nothing*.

My many research trips to Central Otago were possible because of the incredible generosity of Cliff and Jeanette Cochran, who made their Alexandra holiday home available at no cost. Their persistent refusal to accept any payment is a remarkable example of what is meant by the warm hospitality of Southlanders.

Hilary Rowlands, the great-grand-daughter of Charles Lawson (born Karl Larsen) visited New Zealand and I had the privilege of guiding her and husband Chris to where her ancestor lived, worked and died at Bendigo. Her donation of a letter from Charles revealed much more about Bendigo than I could have ever guessed. The letter features in four of my chapters.

Two very patient geologists have helped me understand the processes involved in mining and the geological matrix, and were instrumental in completing the Rise and Shine Valley survey in Chapter 5: Geoff Price of Geopex Ltd (Christchurch) and Mark Hesson of Alexandra.

Three Central Otago historians profoundly influenced me: James Crombie Parcell (*Heart of the Desert – a History of the Cromwell and Bannockburn Districts of Central Otago*), Geoffrey Duff (*Sheep May Safely Graze – the Story of Morven Hills Station and the Tarras District*): when I interviewed him as a 94-year-old, informed me that he had been waiting for someone to pass the baton of writing about Bendigo to; Ron Murray (*Costly Gold – Clutha Riches and Their Human Toll*) was generous with his time, advice, and in allowing the use of his incredible photograph collection. Ron’s *Costly Gold* was the first goldfields book I ever read. Ron and I got to discuss our mutual passion for Central Otago History and the minutiae of the gold rush and the lives of the local pioneers. His passing is deeply regretted. Two of the new crop of historians have assisted me, particularly John McGraw and Matthew Wright.

The Central Otago office of the Department of Conservation, particularly Amanda Ware, Mike Tubbs and Marion Sutton of the Central Otago Office, and Shar Briden and the late Peter Bristow of the Dunedin Office were very helpful; also Matt Schmidt of the New Zealand Historic Places Trust, Matthew Sole (Kopuwai Consulting) also helped.

The staff of Archives New Zealand’s Otago and Wellington offices were extremely helpful and were in several cases instrumental in locating files that I could not find or did not know existed. The staff at Land Information New Zealand’s Otago office, knowing that it was going to close, were subversive enough to allow me a whole morning’s unrestricted (though supervised) access to their Otago historic map archive. The staff of the University of Otago’s Hocken Library, Lakes District Museum, Arrowtown; Central Stories Museum, Alexandra; Clyde Historical Museum, Clyde, and the Cromwell Museum and Information Centre have all been instrumental in helping me. Additionally, this doctorate could not have been completed without the rich, freely-available internet newspaper resource from New Zealand’s National Library called *Paperspast* or the Australian National Library’s *Trove* website.

Our Aussie cousins have set the bar for excellence in goldfields research. Keir Reeves (Monash) has completed the sort of research I seek to emulate and his encouragement has been extremely welcome and useful. Warwick Frost (Latrobe) wrote the first journal article I read when I began this doctorate: ‘Making an Edgier Interpretation of the Gold Rushes’. It

had such an influence on me, I re-read it regularly. Warwick, Jennifer Laing and Charles Fahey were incredibly generous with their time when I visited Ballarat and Bendigo. They are with Keir, the four goldfields researchers I set as the standard I aspire to in my work. Other Australian academics who have assisted have been Susan Lawrence (LaTrobe), Toni Risson and Toni Johnson-Woods (Queensland), Andrew Reeves (Monash), Laurajane Smith (ANU) and Fred Cahir (Ballarat). Ross Both and Mel Davies of the Australasian Association of Mining Historians remain an important support, and Keith Preston's (Tasmania) advice on chapter seven was invaluable. Michael Tracey (Heritage Archaeology Queensland) was helpful for the chapter on water race engineering. Erik Eklund (Monash) gave me valuable advice about the events at Minmi for my examination of the strike at Bendigo in 1881 (chapter eight).

Personal friends remain important to me throughout, especially when dealing with the trauma that in our earthquakes induced. To that end, I would like to acknowledge and thank Paul and Debbie Salisbury, Robin and Lorraine Sutton, Chris and Christian Barbier, Kerry and Wendy Mayes, Troy Surch and Corinna van Eyk, Jenny Clement and Christian Long, and Craig and Catherine McGregor for their support, encouragement and shared dining opportunities.

A year into this thesis, my world, along with that of the other 400000 residents of Christchurch, was turned upside down with the devastating Christchurch earthquake of February 22, 2011 and the 11,000 aftershocks which followed it. The death of so many and the destruction of our city was just the start of a very difficult two years since. All of us in Christchurch either knew someone who died or know someone who lost family members. The University of Canterbury staff did their very best to cope, giving lectures in tents erected in the car parks, creating a retrieval system for out-of-bounds library floors and building temporarily cafes. But this does not alter the fact that for months, our books, property and offices were out of bounds, and we had to contend with shattered properties, failing roads and infrastructure, earthquake refugees and damaged lives. Christchurch has seen 80 per cent of its Central Business District demolished, and the insurance system supposedly formulated to cope with such disasters, the Earthquake Commission (EQC) woefully unprepared and considerably less than satisfactory in the execution of its duties and responsibilities. This has made writing this thesis an interesting task at times. My thesis is dedicated to those lost in the devastation.

Finally, I would acknowledge the thousands of mostly nameless miners, storekeepers, sly-groggers, women and children who worked to shape New Zealand's colonial history and the Central Otago landscape in their quest for gold. My aim has always been to do their story justice.

Lloyd Carpenter, April 2013.

Acknowledgements – Publications

Chapter 1 An earlier version of this chapter was published as ‘Lighting a gen'rous, manly flame: The Nostalgia for “dear old Bendigo”’ in *Journal of Australian Studies*, 2013, Volume 37, Number 1, pp.76 – 95.

This is an Author's Accepted Manuscript of an article published in the *Journal of Australian Studies*, February 2013, [copyright Taylor & Francis], available online at:
<http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/14443058.2012.750618#.UeXVeyGN3IU>.

The copyright of this article remains with Taylor & Francis Publishing. Any requests for use of this material must be addressed to the copyright holder.

Chapter 4 An earlier version of this chapter was published as ‘Defining a Date and Place in the Otago Gold Rush: the Problematic Journal of George Magnus Hassing and Bendigo’ in *The Journal of Australasian Mining History*, Volume 10, October 2012, pp. 26 - 41.

Permission to include this material was kindly given by Mel Davies, editor of *The Journal of Australasian Mining History*, July 18, 2013.

Chapter 5 - Section One An early version of this chapter section was published as ‘A 35 – Year Endeavour: Bendigo’s Rise and Shine Sluicing Syndicate’ in the *Australasian Historical Archaeology* journal, Volume 30, December 2012, pp. 5 - 13.

Permission to include this material was kindly given by Linda Terry, on behalf of Peter Davies, Jon Prangnell & Linda Terry, the Editors of *Australasian Historical Archaeology*

- **Section Two** This chapter section has been reviewed and accepted for publication as “‘Specimens liberally studded with gold’: The Quartz Mining History of a Remote Otago Valley.’ in the *Journal of Australasian Mining History*, Volume 11, October 2013. This was built on an earlier article: ‘The Archaeology of the Come in Time Battery, Bendigo, Otago’ in the non-peer-reviewed *Archaeology in New Zealand*, Vol. 54, Number 1, June 2011, pp. 42 - 52.

Permission to include this material was kindly given by Mel Davies, editor of *The Journal of Australasian Mining History*, July 18, 2013.

Chapter 6 - An early version of this chapter section was published as the ‘Reviled in the Record: Thomas Logan, and the Origins of the Cromwell Quartz Mining Company, Bendigo, Otago’ in the *Journal of Australasian Mining History*, Volume 9, September 2011, pp. 36-53.

Permission to include this material was kindly given by Mel Davies, editor of *The Journal of Australasian Mining History*, July 18, 2013.

Chapter 7 - An early version of this chapter section is published as ‘The Clutha’s First Dam’ in the Journal of The Newcomen Society: *The International Journal for the History of Engineering and Technology*, Volume 83, Number 2, July 2013, pp. 253 – 273.

This is an Author's Accepted Manuscript of an article published in the Journal of The Newcomen Society: *The International Journal for the History of Engineering and*

Technology 2013, [copyright Maney Publishing], available on line at www.ingentaconnect.com/content/maney/het. The copyright of this article remains with Maney Publishing. Any requests for use of this material must be addressed to the copyright holder. (Specific article URL: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1179/1758120613Z.000000000028>)

Chapter 8 An early version of this chapter has been reviewed and accepted for publication as 'A petty and spiteful spirit on the part of the Company' - the 1881 Cromwell Company strike at Bendigo, Otago' by the journal of the Australian Society for the Study of Labour History, *Labour History*, Number 105, November 2013.

This is an Author's Accepted Manuscript of an article published in the Journal of the Australian Society for the Study of Labour History, *Labour History: A Journal of Labour and Social History*, November 2013, [copyright Australian Society for the Study of Labour History]. The copyright of this article remains with the Australian Society for the Study of Labour History. Any requests for use of this material must be addressed to the copyright holder.

Rich in Myth, Gold and Narrative: Aspects of the Central Otago Gold Rush, 1862-2012

Otago never, never should forget
 The men who gave to her the golden years
 That spurred her on: we all still owe a debt
 To those brave hearts - the Golden Pioneers.
 Thomas Bracken¹

Introduction

The popular mythology of the Central Otago gold rush conflates the imagery of California, Victoria and early Gabriel's Gully to create stories of desperate, gold-mad miners swarming across the province fighting, drinking and whoring away sparse winnings in a vast and lawless land, where bodies float down the Clutha, diggers battle corrupt police and fortunes are won and lost. Advertisers, winemakers and tourism marketers play up this rambunctious, created past to convince visitors to see the scenery as they hang from a bungee cord at a former goldfields settlement, or to sip a latte at a rush-era store-turned café on the side of a hydroelectric lake.

Of course, reality is inevitably more complex than superficial myths allow, particularly when it comes to something as mercurial as a gold rush. My intention in this thesis is to demythologise the Central Otago gold rush, not to repair glaring errors in the record (though these exist), but to show how the demythologised events are in many respects more startling and incredible, then received myths allow. The real story of the Central Otago gold rush is of unique endeavours, edgy risk-taking, the formation of community, the invention and implementation of technological advances, economic and social networks, and industrial relations history and evolution. The gold rush is a window on the best and worst of the Victorian age, when fortunes were rested from the earth as individuals created a new and better life in the frontier that was rush-era Otago.

¹ Thomas Bracken, 'Dunedin Exhibition Address', *Otago Daily Times*, 15 June 1881, p. 1; reproduced in Bracken, T., *Lays of the Land of the Maori and Moa*, (London, Sampson, Low, Marston, Searle, & Rivington, 1884), pp. 119 – 122.

To write a de-mythologised narrative of the rush, I examine the testimony of Otago people who wrote for and to colonial newspapers, found traces of their lives in archives, letters and court records and follow the migrations of miners, families and merchants across Australasia and the world. After discussing the lives they lived and the nature of their work, I examine the archaeological heritage of the rush.

Looking at the lives of rush era Otago people is problematic because few recorded the minutiae of their lives. Some wrote reminiscences in their later years, but these emphasise the unusual and the significant, writing of famous prospectors like the ‘Redoubtable’ William Fox and Gabriel Read, attendance at a concert by the Trans-Tasman entertainer the ‘Inimitable’ Charles Thatcher, or participating in community celebrations. The emphasis on the remarkable in their writing is impelled by the knowledge that their actual experience of the Otago goldfields was of long days spent deep in a stuffy, candle-lit quartz mine, working on dangerous sluicing claims in freezing winters and baking summers, shovelling tons of alluvium through sluice boxes, manning the pitching deck of a gold dredge in a precipitous gorge or negotiating the economic perils of merchant life in the oscillating fortunes of a gold town. And no account by a woman has survived to tell the reality of a lonely, harsh life in a tiny goldfields settlement, hands worn bloody by the constant battle to mend, wash and dry clothes, cooking on coal fires with water carried from the nearest race or the danger of births under unskilled midwifery care, or the stress, uncertainty and danger of her husband’s work. In popular, romanticised histories and photographic essays by local enthusiasts, stories of failed miners, bankrupt storekeepers, drunken hoteliers and ‘fallen’ women are untold; the lost souls who killed themselves in despair, drank themselves into oblivion, died under a slumping gravel sluice face and the children who died falling from horses or drowning in any Otago river hardly rate a passing mention.

To complete a true picture, I assemble a comprehensive, coherent narrative of these pioneers building a community in their new home, to write a de-mythologised people of the Central Otago gold rush. This has required a comprehensive survey of contemporary newspaper accounts, miner and merchant journals and archival records, tracing lives and migrations through business permits, property files, share transfers, criminal and civil court records, water resource allocation registers and mining files. Most Warden’s Court and Mines Department archives are neither indexed nor filed by date or name, necessitating long days trawling through thousands of items to find the few of relevance. The columns of the most applicable newspapers, the *Dunstan Times*, *Cromwell Argus*, *Lake Wakatip Times* and *Arrow*

News are only available in the Hocken Library or Wellington's National Library, not on the internet. The difficulty of teasing out individual narratives and reconstructing commercial networks by tracing links between disparate files related to scattered areas with material in several archive locations explains why this has been problematic for historians in the past.

To elucidate these lives, I demonstrate that what remains today as the industrial, architectural and landscape heritage is the end of dynamic processes and therefore depictions in contemporary images mask the complexities of finance, interactions with goldfields authorities and administration, the development of technologies and the organisation of labour to create what is shown.

In chapter one I show, by examining the mythic concept of 'Old Bendigo,' how the emergent Australian and New Zealand identities are both located in the gold rush and reveal how even the process of naming a town is an example of a self-assured Australia and a conservative New Zealand. Drawing on the lessons and experience of Bendigo's Red Ribbon Campaign and the violence of the Eureka Stockade in their early rush narratives as essentially formative, Australia locates the formation of its identity as rugged self-assured individualists in the 'lucky' country, intolerant of administrative strictures and governmental incompetence in the gold rush; New Zealand makes no such foundational connection. With a gold rush history that had no Eureka turning point, a manifestly fair goldfields administration and a stable, orderly and mostly non-violent narrative, New Zealanders saw, and see still, the rush as an interesting era, but do not see it forming a critical aspect of the national psyche. Having diagnosed and anatomised this mythopoeia, through the rest of my research, I replace the mythic 'rush' with a more holistic examination of the historical forces that shaped the everyday material lives of these communities.

As the descendant of a Cornishman and the daughter of a Māori gold-miner from Aorere and Parapara (Nelson), I was interested to explore the phenomenon of indigenous mining in Otago. I change this critically under-examined narrative to reveal in chapter two that Otago and Southland Māori were active participants in the rush, obtained gold before the 1860s and, once they had fully grasped its importance, exploited their knowledge to their own advantage. I found that Māori were mining in California in 1849, Australia in the 1850s and eventually even the Yukon in the rush of 1898, changing the racial profile of each gold chronicle. Allied to this, in chapter three I refute the pervasive myth that gold finds in Otago prior to 1861 were concealed, where a ruling class dubbed the 'Old Identity' in popular memory suppressed information, paternalistically subverting news of gold finds to hold down

new settlers. I find that this battle to hold back the ‘New Iniquity’ of gold miners did not happen the way it has been portrayed; newspaper editors were complicit in the revelation of gold discoveries but critically, just as in California and Australia, the right conditions for a rush had to be in place before rumours of gold could produce anything.

In the second section, I examine how on the goldfields there was model of the development of industrial society, with the seeds of settlement, creation of community, an emergent industrialisation and resultant corporatisation and conclude with a detailed examination of what was a sophisticated commercial environment. This series of studies shows the narrative behind the story: the path to mine development, what it took to develop a sluicing claim or build a new town beyond the facile in photographic depictions. This begins in chapter four when I scrutinise ‘rush’ ideas throughout gold history in California, Australia and New Zealand, untangling the confusion of the first few months of a goldfield and examining the lives of a few of the key players in a rush-born, embryonic town. In chapter five, I look at the development of communities through the assembling of syndicated mining endeavours, examining the importance of the network of water races crossing the landscape to show how the employment and judicious use of water was critical to the lives and work of miners. In part two of this analysis, I look at a discrete region of hills dotted with adits and shafts, the moonscape of old sluice workings and untidy piles of mullock beside former quartz mines as typical elements in landscapes shaped by a gold rush and, using archaeological remnants, mining maps and archival sources, elucidating its full mining history to produce a comprehensive historic record of mining, miners and their families in this locale.

Building on this, in chapter six I trace the unique story of the discovery and development of the richest quartz mine at Bendigo, and using primary sources and contemporary narratives, re-examine the actions of the pioneer miners to reach a different conclusion from the historiography of the rush. Continuing to confound the popular ‘rush’ imagery of miners running hither and yon, this shows a group of hard-working young men defying the odds and overcoming tremendous obstacles to earn remarkable wealth. Chapter seven is focused on one of the more improbable tales to emerge out my research: while looking at the emergence of amalgamated syndicate claims, I discover the long-forgotten tale of a unique group of entrepreneurs, amateur engineers and pioneer gold-miners who combined a bold plan, youthful foolhardiness, creative financing and sheer hard work to build the first dam on the Clutha River at Quartz Reef Point. Amalgamated claims and quartz

endeavours evolved to show hints of the modern world, and in the process of examining the lives of Central Otago miners, I identify an early example of corporate action against employees, during a bitter industrial conflict in 1881. These events, which are examined in chapter eight shatter many myths of the rush era, offering scenes of the type which would produce the 'Occupy' reactionary movement 130 years later. Extending the examination of the commercial sphere, Chapter nine examines the long-cherished and widely-believed myth that the only people to profit on the goldfields were the hoteliers, sly-groggers and storekeepers. This study shows a surprisingly complex financial world, where the merchants acted as proto-bankers and effectively financed the rush.

In part three, having examined the dynamics of the communities they built, I seek a comprehensive examination of the goldfields heritage that remains, linking this to the real lives of the miners and their families. Looking at the exemplar of Bendigo, I elucidate a place where fortunes were made, lives were lost and where the landscape was battled, shaped and mastered to wrest gold from its complex geology, revealing it as an example of mining heritage with information panels, walking tracks and rush-era structures. I examine the additional landscapes hidden within the heritage landscape and discuss the layers which are not readily apparent to the twenty-first century visitor to the reserve.

Rich in Myth, Gold and Narrative: Aspects of the Central Otago Gold Rush, 1862-2012

SECTION ONE – Myth

Chapter 1 – Identity

No other land has mustered such a kingly race of men
As that brave golden legion on the march to fortune then;
The digger's shirt was freedom's badge: beneath it honour's glow
Lit up a gen'rous, manly flame on dear old Bendigo.
Thomas Bracken²

Introduction

In the mid-1800s aspects of the emergent Australian and New Zealand identities are located in the gold rush, yet I found that even the process of naming a town emerges as an example of a self-assured Australia and a conservative New Zealand. New Zealand's emerging identity in particular is a complex one of borrowing, inheritance and a hesitant-but-growing differentiation. Drawing on the lessons and experience of Bendigo's Red Ribbon Campaign and the violence of the Eureka Stockade in their early rush narratives as essentially formative, Australia locates the formation of its mythic identity as rugged self-assured individualists in the 'lucky' country, intolerant of administrative strictures and governmental incompetence in the gold rush; New Zealand makes no such foundational connection. The mythologisation of new settler identity was immediate for each country; but for New Zealand, with many immigrant miners from Australia and with a rush history with no Eureka turning point, an efficient goldfields administration and a mostly orderly rush, it does not form a critical aspect of the national psyche. This construction of identity had wider implications: as both countries sought to establish an identity for themselves, New Zealanders were not sure whether we had a future as part of Australia, or whether we had an identity of our own.

² Thomas Bracken, 'Old Bendigo', *Tuapeka Times*, June 7 1876, p. 3.

With a population swelling with immigrants from the veteran mining populations of Australia and California, as well as ‘new chums’ from Britain and Europe, the earliest notions of ‘New Zealander’ began to change. The nature of Otago as an economic powerhouse fuelled by gold and wool, and the dominance of the large, vibrant, gold – enriched population on New Zealand’s political and business life means that significant aspects of the New Zealand identity was derived from the gold rush narrative. However the presence of the ‘sojourner’ miners from Australia, up to 80 per cent of whom came, gained the riches they sought and then left to invest and farms in the newly-land reformed Victoria, New South Wales and South Australia created a sense of hesitancy and concern in New Zealand which has held rhetorical sway.

It is therefore useful to consider one place as an exemplar of this struggle for identity. Yet Bendigo is more than an exemplar; it is embodiment of the myth associated with the place, and the characteristics of its settlers: bellicose, hard-living, boozy, rambunctious; ‘wild, free and independent’, especially of previous oppressive class structures; prodigiously successful and named after a rough-edged, legendary champion. Bendigo is the name of an Australian city with a golden past, an historic reserve centred on a Central Otago ghost town, a Pennsylvanian State Park and a former All-England champion boxer. The name “Bendigo” appears on hotel signs, gold dredges and mining claims in several countries and is on the nameplate of a Confederate blockade runner wrecked off North Carolina. More than an example of an early global brand, “Bendigo” acquired a peculiar significance throughout narratives of colonial Australasia with the town remembered in an unusually rapid, unique nostalgiasing process.

This chapter examines the way the name developed and the manner in which the Australian Bendigo emerged through legend, memory and pioneering mythology to become an assiduously romanticised “Old Bendigo” and how this influenced the perception of people from there. It also reveals how this myth and this name exemplify the workings of larger historical forces at the time, such as the circulation of stories, names, characters and images amongst the various ‘theatres’ of British settlement: Australia, NZ, but also the American West and even South Africa.

Old Bendigo

The name 'Bendigo' has a peculiar place in the Australasian narratives of the nineteenth century, a name that makes a unique contribution to the formation of trans-Tasman colonial identities. Bendigo is not just the name of a city with a rambunctious golden past in the Australian state of Victoria, it is also the name of a New Zealand historic reserve in Central Otago, of a State Park in Pennsylvania, of a shipwreck off North Carolina, and of a former All-England champion bareknuckle boxer. It is an early example of a global brand, but one that, for New Zealand and Australian writers, has a peculiarly nostalgic turn in the collective memory. In the process of researching the cultural and mining history of the Central Otago Bendigo, I have found references to the Victorian Bendigo, Bendigo the English boxer and Bendigo the appellation on hotels, claims and gold dredges in newspapers and reports throughout Australasia. However, the way each is referenced reveals a meaning implicit in the name that takes 'Bendigo' beyond simplistic narrative. In these accounts, the Victorian Bendigo gains a signifier which was not used for any other Australian or New Zealand gold field. In the hands of these early writers, 'Bendigo' undergoes an etymological metamorphosis into a romanticised 'Old Bendigo', yielding a descriptor connotating more than a place of former residence or gold mining, constructing it as a sentimentalised place and era, the passing of which is regretted. Being from 'Old Bendigo' came to imply reliability, integrity and being fortunate in the pursuit of gold, and as such the pioneer town and the men who mined there have been celebrated in prose and verse in both countries since 1852.

Given the importance of the rush for gold to both countries' foundational narratives, and Old Bendigo's critically pivotal place within these, it is therefore a significant influence in the formation of Australasian identity and national stereotypes. Tellingly, 'Old Bendigo' has no local equivalent in New Zealand, despite New Zealand's possession of rich, easier-worked, more pleasantly-climed and picturesque locales like the Queenstown Lakes District which developed a decade after Bendigo. By examining in some detail, various meanings associated with Bendigo throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, this chapter shows how the romantic nostalgia developed specifically, and only, with the Australian town, and only with the Australian town, developed. New Zealand miners, even if they had no experience of Australia's 'Old Bendigo', used this nostalgia as a talisman for the naming of hotels and gold claims, adopting it as a touchstone for good fortune. Its use also provides a hint at an on-going hesitancy in the nascent New Zealand identity as conceptually separate from Australia, and struggling to master what Allen Curnow called 'the trick of standing

upright here'.³ This quest for a New Zealand identity is evident even today, as we remain Karl du Fresne's 'small country with a big inferiority complex' when we compare ourselves with our larger neighbour, despite the occasional fillip to the national ego from America's Cup and rugby triumphs by the All Blacks.⁴

The Bold 'Un

The eponymous Bendigo was William 'Abednego' Thompson, a Nottingham-born southpaw bare-knuckle pugilist celebrated throughout the English-speaking world in the 1830s and 1840s.⁵ In an age when sporting exploits dominated popular culture, Thompson's bold, ebullient personality, muscular physique and skill, which made him as 'deadly and poisonous as a rattlesnake with about the same ethics' made him an instant celebrity.⁶ Broadsheets featured poems lauding Bendigo's skill and tactics were printed and sold after each fight as mementoes and before new bouts to promote these (FIGURE 1.1), which added to the mythopoeia surrounding his image and name and ensured his fame spread. The exploits of 'Deaf' Burke, Thompson and his celebrated rival, Benjamin 'Big Ben' Caunt, whose name is widely believed to be remembered in the London landmark, and each of their challengers, were regular features in the widely-read *Bell's Life in London and Sporting Chronicle*.⁷

Thompson started boxing as 'Abednego' in 1834, but his bobbing and weaving in the ring saw him called 'Bendy', which newspapermen and touts conflated with his adopted middle name into 'Bendigo. While his speed and power won his bouts, his fame spread because of his larger-than-life, Muhammad Ali-like self-promotion and antics. To the delight of the crowds, Bendigo turned each fight into a spectacle, taunting his opponents and jumping somersaults.

³ Allen Curnow, 'Attitudes for a New Zealand Poet III (The Skeleton of the Great Moa in the Canterbury Museum, Christchurch)', in *Sailing or Drowning* (Wellington, The Progressive Publishing Society, 1943), p. 28.

⁴ Karl du Fresne, 'A small country with a big inferiority complex', *Dominion Post*, June 22 2011.

⁵ Biographer J.P. Bean is convinced that the 'Abdnego' middle name is an affectation Thompson adopted. Julian P. Bean, *Bold as a Lion: The Life of Bendigo, Champion of England* (Sheffield, D&D Publications, 2002), p. 11.


⁶ Quoted in Bean, *Bold as a Lion*, p. 42.

⁷ *Bell's Life in London and Sporting Chronicle* was the first London newspaper to regularly feature sport (British Library, Concise History of the British Newspaper in the Nineteenth Century, <http://www.bl.uk/> accessed 23 August 2011). The English Parliament notes the 'Big Ben' boxer origin as one of the two possible for the bell (United Kingdom Parliament – Big Ben, <http://www.parliament.uk/about/living-heritage/building/palace/big-ben/building-clock-tower/great-bell/> accessed 23 August 2011).

HARDING B.13 (2)

BENDIGO,

Champion of England



A NEW SONG on the Great Fight
between
Bendigo & Caunt
For the Belt and £110 which took place
at Witchwood, on Tuesday Sep. 9, 1845

Ye ranting lads and sporting blades
Come listen to my song,
I'm sure that it will please you well
And will not keep you long,
Concerning this great milling match,
That lately has been fought
Between great Caunt and Bendigo
Two lads of the right sort.

CHORUS.

So we'll drink success to Bendigo,
Who showed such gallant play,
For by his skill he won the mill
And bore the prize away.

On the ninth day of September,
Eighteen hundred and forty-five

to Witchwood for to see the fight
the sporting coves did drive,
While some did laugh and some did chaff,
And of their man did vaunt
Some bet their tin on Bendigo
And some back'd giant Caunt.

And when the ground was ready
Both these champions quickly peeled,
wo braver men on England's ground
Did never take the field
The fancy swore they were top mark, —
An honour to the ring
Two stouter hearts had never met
Since Langan and Tom Spring.

Both men shook hands, and the prize belt
It straightway was brought in
There let it hang says Bendigo,
till the best man does win,
that won't be little Bendigo
then Caunt he did reply,
For I'll be your side till you're satisfied
then at him he let fly

Is that the way says Bendigo
Here, take it back again
He made a job at poor Caunt's nob
And hammer'd it anals
this furious work soon drew the cork
Of Caunt's poor claret bottle
While Caunt returned the compliment
Made Bendigo's ribs to rattle.

twenty-four rounds these heroes fought,
None could tell which was best,
But Bendigo in the next round,
Struck Caunt on the left breast,
Which made him stagger round the ring
And fall upon the ground,
Says Bendigo 'I'll have the belt
And the four hundred pound.

But Caunt did boldly come again
And showed some gallant play,
Yet Bendigo would strike a blow
And quickly get away,
Until in round the eighty-fourth,
He gave such ugly blows,
Which left his mark on the staring part
And fairly spoil'd Caunt's nose.

Eighty-eight rounds was fought,
When Caunt he could not rise,
And all declared the Bendigo Coals
Had fairly won the prize,
the ripton blasher now may come,
But soon he'll get to know
that he is not quite big enough
to wallop Bendigo,

Wheeler, Printer, Whittle-st. Manchester

DANIEL
WHEELER
PRINTED

inches
cm 1 2 3 4 5

© Bodleian Library

Frame:

05597

FIGURE 1.1 Broadsheet, 'Bendigo, Champion of England', Wheeler Printers, Manchester c. October, 1847 from Bodleian Library's Broadside Ballads Online (<http://ballads.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/view/image/11859/0> retrieved 20 April 2013, used with permission). This is one of the seven different broadsheets in the Bodleian Collection; three (including this sample) discuss the events of the Bendigo/Caunt bout of 1843.

Over a century before before Ali, the self-declared 'onliest of boxing's poet laureates' baited Sonny Liston with 'Clay comes out to meet Liston/Liston starts to retreat/ If Liston goes back an

inch farther/He'll end up in a ringside seat,'⁸ Thompson was writing verse challenges in *Bell's Life*, declaring to reigning All-England Champion James 'Deaf' Burke:

I tell you, my Deaf 'un, without any flourish,
Your conduct appears most confoundedly currish;
And as straightforward dealing was always my plan,
If you wish for a customer, I am your man...⁹

He beat the infamous 'Deaf 'Un' to seize the championship in 1839, then defended it against all comers. In 1850, at the age of thirty-nine and with twenty-one bouts behind him, 'the Bold 'Un', Bendigo Thompson retired undefeated. In his retirement he battled alcoholism and gained twenty-eight convictions for drunkenness and disorderly behaviour.¹⁰ After a dramatic conversion at a tent mission in 1872, he became an evangelist, taking up a boxer's stance as he preached, saying 'See them belts? See them cups? I used to fight for those, but now I fight for Christ'.¹¹ Bendigo died in 1881, but his fame was renewed when Sir Arthur Conan-Doyle published 'Bendy's Sermon' in 1909:

Bendy's Sermon

You didn't know of Bendigo?
Well, that knocks me out!
Who's your Board School teacher?
What's he been about?
Chock-a-block with fairy-tales -
Full of useless cram,
And never heard of Bendigo,
The pride of Nottingham.
....
I'd tell you how he fought Ben Caunt,
And how the deaf 'un fell,
But the game is done, and the men are gone –
And maybe it's as well.¹²
....

William 'Bendigo' Thompson was inducted into *Ring Magazine's* Boxing Hall of Fame in 1955 and the International Boxing Hall of Fame in 1991,¹³ confirming his enduring

⁸ George Plimpton, 'Muhammad Ali: The Greatest,' *Time*, 14 June 1999, p. 32; Poem quoted in Bill Traugher, 'Brash Clay waxed poetic in 1963 visit to Nashville,' *City Paper*, Nashville, 4 June 2002.

⁹ Bean, *Bold as a Lion*, p. 89.

¹⁰ Ishmael Wilson, quoted in Bean, *Bold as a Lion*, pp. 178-9.

¹¹ Bean, *Bold as a Lion*, p. 189.

¹² Arthur Conan Doyle, 'Bendy's Sermon' in *Strand Magazine* April 1909, pp. 420-4. Later publications used the title 'Bendigo's Sermon' (First reprinted in the first volume of A. J. Gough's *Everybody's Weekly*, 15 April 1911, p. 206. A separate edition was published by Ishmael Wilson & Son in 1929).

iconic status in the sport. His name appeared in a sun-baked corner of an Australian colony when gold was found at a place indirectly named after him in 1852.

Australia's Bendigo

The original name for the stream at what became the Victorian town of Bendigo was Kanakabilli, the domain of the Djadjawurrung people.¹⁴ It was part of the Ravenswood sheep station, first opened up by Charles Sherrard, sold to Heape and Grice and then to Gibson and Fenton, the owners when gold was discovered. Robert Haverfield, the editor of the *Bendigo Advertiser*, described the pre-goldrush area as 'carpeted with green grass, [and] dotted here and there with comely and shady gum-trees, while the creek banks, shaded with wattle, sloped down to a chain of water holes, which ... contained a good supply of sweet clear water'.¹⁵

In 1890, an exchange of letters in the *Melbourne Argus* revealed the origin of the name of the town. 1890 was a significant time because locals were agitating to change the official name of the city from 'Sandhurst' back to the original 'Bendigo', and this coincided with the convening of a Victorian Parliamentary Select Committee enquiry to establish the discoverer of the goldfield.¹⁶ Both topics prompted letters to newspapers arguing what happened and to whom and when in the earliest days of the gold rush at Bendigo at the beginning of 1852.

Bendigo was not directly named after Thompson, but was named after a shepherd who was nicknamed after the boxer. The shepherd left for the 1849 California gold rush but his sobriquet remained, which led William Sandvach, an eyewitness to the Bendigo rush and (unsuccessful) claimant to the title of discoverer, to comment, 'nicknames are tenacious, sticking even to kings and their habitations'.¹⁷ Sandvach wrote two letters to the *Melbourne*

¹³ Ring Magazine's Boxing Hall of Fame website, http://boxrec.com/media/index.php/Bendigo_Thompson; International Boxing Hall of Fame, <http://www.ibhof.com/pages/about/inductees/pioneer/thompson.html>. Accessed 3 March 2010.

¹⁴ E.W. Bagshawe, 'Origin of Bendigo', *Melbourne Argus*, 24 August 1891, p. 6; Alan Mayne, 'Goldrush Landscapes: an Ethnography,' in *Deeper Leads – New Approaches to Victorian Goldfields History*. (Eds.) Keir Reeves and David Nichols, (Ballarat, Ballarat Heritage Services, 2007), p. 14; spelt 'Jajaworung' in Frank Cusack, *Bendigo, A History* (Melbourne, Heinemann, 1973), p. 4.

¹⁵ George Mckay, *The History of Bendigo* (Bendigo, Mackay, 1891), p. 1.

¹⁶ James Flett, *The History of Gold Discovery in Victoria* (Melbourne, Hawthorn Press, 1970), p. 204.

¹⁷ W.M. Sandvach, 'The Discovery of Gold at Bendigo', *Melbourne Argus*, 13 September 1890, p. 10.

Argus, his first discussing the Bendigo he knew before 1852.¹⁸ His second featured two notes sent to him as a result of his first letter:- one note from an early owner of Ravenswood and another from a woman who had visited there. The missive from the former owner, Mr Grice, said that in 1841 Tom Myers was employed as a shepherd and was ‘a bit of a dab hand with his fists, and a great admirer of the boxer Bendigo, hence the name’, while the woman recalled that as a young girl she visited ‘Myers’s Bendigo Station’ in the area which would become the goldfield.¹⁹

In 1854 Bendigo Goldfields Commissioner Captain John Bull and Chief Victorian Goldfields Commissioner William Wright were called to a meeting with Governor Latrobe, at which he decreed that the settlement of Forest Creek would be known as ‘Castlemaine’ and Bendigo would become ‘Castleton’. Discussion about the similarity in names prompted the Governor to change his mind, saying ‘Well, gentlemen, both of you are Sandhurst cadets, and in commemoration of this circumstance I shall christen the district by the name of Sandhurst’.²⁰ In the late 1880s mine owners joined the townsfolk to pressure the City Council to revert, partly from sentiment and partly to attract capital to develop deep quartz mines: ‘the name Bendigo was known throughout the world in connection to the production of gold, whereas the name of Sandhurst carried no such association. ... The Bendigo gold-field offered good opportunities for the investment of English capital, but the name of Sandhurst prevented such money coming hither’.²¹ The name reverted to Bendigo after an 1891 plebiscite.

A Rapid Nostalgia

Bendigo was not the first of Victoria’s goldfields, but it became famed for having gold distributed in a manner which rewarded any miner with a modicum of luck and a willingness to work hard, and its sheer size meant a large population could be sustained.²² Stories of vast

¹⁸ Mr McLellan, quoting correspondence from W.M. Sandvach, ‘The Discovery of Gold at Bendigo – a Circumstantial History’, *Melbourne Argus*, 26 August 1890, p. 9.

¹⁹ W.M. Sandvach, *Melbourne Argus*, 13 September 1890, p. 10.

²⁰ (quoting correspondence from) Colonel J.E.N. Bull ‘How Castlemaine and Sandhurst were Christened’, *Melbourne Argus*, 20 October 1890, p. 7.

²¹ Bendigo Historical Society Inc. Website, http://www.bendigohistory.com/discovery_of_gold.shtml accessed February 10, 2012; ‘The Proposal to Change the Name of Sandhurst’, *Melbourne Argus*, 31 July 1890, p. 6.

²² Cusack, *Bendigo*, p. 39.

golden riches scraped from the hills, gullies and old river flats of Bendigo were celebrated in contemporary newspaper accounts throughout the world.²³

In what was an unusual and uniquely rapid process of nostalgia, commentators in New Zealand and Australia began romantically lauding Bendigo's pioneer era in relatively early reports. New Zealand's *Nelson Examiner* in August, 1853 noted that 'the majority of miners in Ballarat, Forest Creek, and Bendigo are barely earning "rations"', wistfully adding that the McIvor district 'will be but a poor successor to the old Bendigo'.²⁴ Hardly eighteen months after the first gold was found there, Bendigo was romanticised into this 'old Bendigo', idealised in its nostalgia-constructed recent past. The 'old Bendigo' affectation became a constant, such as the 1855 news of Myers' Flat: 'I have heard of some parties taking as much as twelve pounds weight off the bottom of their hole, so that there are still a few heavy finds on Old Bendigo.'²⁵ Since each of these examples appeared in the *Nelson Examiner*, it is easy to assume some level of connection between the editor and Bendigo, but the sentiment is repeated in the *Examiner's* competitor, *The Colonist*: 'Something like a return of former and bygone days, seem to have been dawning upon Old Bendigo during the past week'.²⁶

Australian writers refer to 'Old Bendigo' as the earlier era of Bendigo and the place where gold was first found, rather than the romantically anthropomorphised diggers' friend of later New Zealand writers. The first Australian use of the phrase was contemporaneous with the Nelson feature, the *Melbourne Argus* commenting: 'Old Bendigo seems the favorite, and by all accounts is remunerating'.²⁷ Similarly, an 1854 report in the *Moreton Bay Courier* said that 'the Sheepwash district was likely to turn out an extensive gold field, where parties would be able at least to realise good wages, if they could not equal the gains of the old Bendigo'.²⁸ This 'Old Bendigo' era was even called 'glorious' by one writer expressing his dismay at Sandhurst becoming the official name, describing 'the glorious days of Mount Alexander and old Bendigo - before those localities became metamorphosed by official

²³ Geoffrey Serle, *The Golden Age – A History of the Colony of Victoria, 1851-1861* (Melbourne, Melbourne UP, 1963), p. 35.

²⁴ 'The Victoria Diggings', *Nelson Examiner and New Zealand Chronicle*, 6 August 1853, p. 2.

²⁵ 'Summary of Mining Intelligence', *Nelson Examiner*, 4 July 1855, p. 2.

²⁶ 'Mining in Victoria', *Colonist*, 21 February 1860, p. 3.

²⁷ 'Melbourne Gold Circular', *Melbourne Argus*, 2 May 1853, p. 4.

²⁸ 'Bendigo', *The Moreton Bay Courier*, *Brisbane*, 23 December 1854, p. 2.

ingenuity',²⁹ while some other newspapers characterised early Bendigo as 'palmy' or 'palmiest, to distinguish their 'old Bendigo' when the field was flourishing.³⁰

Bendigo quickly transformed from the tents and bark huts of goldrush settlement into a municipality of impressive public buildings with streets of brick houses. This made it the target of the barbs of famed goldfields balladeer, Charles 'The Inimitable' Thatcher. The London-trained entertainer had arrived in 1852, mining at Bendigo's Kangaroo Flat before leaving to perform at Bendigo's Theatre Royal in 1854.³¹ His notoriety and the patronage of Melbourne businessmen meant his songs were printed and widely circulated, and in 1857 he wrote derisively of the new town he saw emerging:

*Changes on Bendigo*³²

Tune: the Galvanic Ring

Dear me! How this place is advancing,
What it will come to I'm sure I don't know.
The way folks are building is truly entrancing,
They've altered the fashion of old Bendigo.
Land's advertised every day for selection,
Quartz reefs still keep up their fabulous yield,
Brick houses spring up in every direction,
And canvas is beaten quite part of the field.

Chorus

But of course now on Sandhurst we go on improving,
In the great march of progress we're first in the race,
Our motto of course is just 'push on, keep moving',
For Bendigo's bound to become a great place.

....

Old mother Stiggins that kept a small shanty,
And was fined for grog selling some three years ago,
Has built a nice villa and lives now in plenty,
And votes blue shirt diggers quite vulgar and low.

....

His verses satirised the affectations of the town's nouveau-riche, lambasting what he saw as the assiduous erasing of pioneering memories and their replacement by a faux gentrified urbanity. Thatcher's Bendigo was the raw frontier town, the preserve of the rough, harsh-but-honest digger in the era of instant gold fortunes and the place where the legend of

²⁹ 'Tuapeka to Wakatipu', *Otago Daily Times*, 20 March 1863, p. 5.

³⁰ 'Around the Middle Island', *Evening Post*, 25 August 1869, p. 2; 'Otago – The Wakatip Diggings', *Colonist*, 15 December 1863, p. 3, 'Ballarat at the Beginning of 1856', *Melbourne Argus* 5 January 1856, p. 7.

³¹ Hugh Anderson, *The Colonial Minstrel* (Melbourne, F.W. Cheshire, 1960), p. 52.

³² Anderson, *Colonial Minstrel*, pp. 53-5.

Old Bendigo was formed, not this civilised metropolis with its city hall, mayor and neat cottages.



FIGURE 1.2 The Gold Mines Hotel, Marong Rd., Bendigo (built 1857). Photograph, L. Carpenter 2012

The modern city of Bendigo retains much of the impressive goldfields-era business and domestic architecture which attracted Thatcher's poetic hauteur, especially with iconic structures like the Gold Mines Hotel on Marong Road (see FIGURE 1.2), the famed Hotel Shamrock on William Street and the many miners' houses lining inner-city streets.

Realist Narratives

Given this penchant for romantic memories of the goldfield, it is germane to examine what was being nostalgicised in the accounts of early Bendigo. There were the heroic tales of rough, honest young men working in a manly pioneering community of James Bonwick's 1852 account:

We live in canvas homes, or huts of bark and logs...Our furniture is of simple character. A box, a block of wood, or a bit of paling across a pail, serves as a table ... We have those who indulge in plates, knives and forks but ... the washing of plates and cleaning of knives and forks require an

application of cleanliness most foreign The wild, free and independent life appears the great charm.³³

And this cheerful, innocent simplicity is confirmed in George Mackay's eyewitness retrospective in his 1891 *History of Bendigo*,

It was a stirring scene, with the swarming mass of active, hardy, and vigorous young men who had been driven to the colony by the fever into which the discovery of gold had thrown them. Among that splendid band of pioneers were men of all grades of life-the artisan, the lawyer, the doctor, and even the nobleman, mingling together in the common throng, striving for the possession of the precious metal which was to secure to them wealth and fortune . . . Gold was dug up almost in bucketfuls on Bendigo Flat.³⁴

Keir Reeves classifies the 1850s Australian diggings as an 'inversion of the social order of Britain or Europe', adding that Bendigo and its neighbouring districts 'became renowned as places of political and social dissent', confirming the positive images formed by pioneer writers of places 'where egalitarian notions of mate-ship and equality of opportunity flourished'.³⁵ He traces aspects of the Australian national character to the stereotype of a 'bushy bearded, self-reliant, hard-working miner whose manner embodied independence combined with a heady mix of heavy drinking and masculine licence', endorsing the constructed romanticism of those who wrote of old Bendigo as enduring, important, and significant in the shaping of national identity.³⁶ However Eric Hobsbawm notes that 'in so far as there is such reference to our historic past, the peculiarity of 'invented' traditions is that the continuity with it is largely factitious.... they are responses to novel situations which take the form of reference to old situations, or which establish their own past by quasi-obligatory repetition',³⁷ and the mythic underpinning of the romanticised 'Old Bendigo' is a cultural construction of exactly this kind.

For it is clear that early Bendigo was no utopia. William Howitt's main memory was painful: 'the little black-devil fly all day attacked our eyes, nose and mouth: and great

³³ James Bonwick, *Notes of a Gold Digger and Gold Digger's Guide* (Melbourne, E. Connebee, 1852), in *History of the Australian Gold Rushes by those who were there*, ed., Nancy Keesing, (Sydney, Angus & Robertson, 1976), pp. 157, 159.

³⁴ MacKay, *History of Bendigo*, p. 3.

³⁵ Keir Reeves, 'Hargraves Discovers Gold at Ophir: Australia's "golden age,"' in *Turning Points in Australian History*, (Eds.), Martin Crotty, and David A. Roberts, (Sydney, University of New South Wales UP, 2009), p. 66.

³⁶ Reeves, Hargraves, p. 66.

³⁷ Eric Hobsbawm, *Inventing Traditions*, in *The Invention of Tradition*, (Eds.), Eric Hobsbawm and Terrence Ranger, (Cambridge, Cambridge UP, 1983), p. 2.

blowflies in thousands blew our blankets, rugs and everything woollen, all over with their maggots, which were at once dried upon by the sun'.³⁸ And his description of his fellow miners was hardly complimentary: 'A lot of the vilest scoundrels are assembled here from the four winds of heaven'.³⁹ Another early visitor to Bendigo was Mrs Ellen Clacy, whose disgust at what she saw prompted her to write her observations, describing one woman who:

kept a sort of sly-grog shop, and passed the day selling and drinking spirits ... she was a most repulsive looking object ... coarse black hair unbrushed, uncombed, dangled about her face, over which her evil habits had spread a genuine bacchanalian glow, whilst in a loud masculine voice she uttered the most awful words⁴⁰ ... night at the diggings is the characteristic time; murder here - murder there - revolvers cracking ... this man swearing - another praying - a party of bacchanals chanting various ditties to different time and tune, or rather minus both.⁴¹

Even Bonwick tempered his enthusiasm for Bendigo to admit that he endured 'the weather, exposure, dust, mud, filth, flies and fleas' but asserted that 'the diggings have such attractions that even the unlucky must come back for another trial'.⁴² The lack of water is frequently remembered and Mackay highlighted the trials it created:

... amongst all these mad, wild, novel scenes, the abominable dust fiend held high revelry.... and the slightest puff of wind raised it in blinding clouds. In the midst of all this dust and heat, and clamour and confusion, it was not a good thing, as can be imagined, to be unable to get a drink of water. But there was little or none on Bendigo in March, 1852.⁴³

An un-named writer in the *Melbourne Argus* de-bunked the nostalgia-enhanced 'glorious old' Bendigo in 1934, by describing how:

In the early 'fifties 30,000 diggers proceeded to alter [Bendigo's] landscape with such ruthless energy that what had been a densely wooded ridge became Bald Hill. ... The tiny watercourses silted up and vegetation disappeared from the valleys, and the sludge accentuated the ugliness of it all. The dainty little dells had become gullies and flats with names to suit all tastes. Thus there were Dead Dog Gully, Dead Cat Gully, Pig Face Gully there was a gardenless Garden Gully, a very unhappy-looking - when the

³⁸ William Howitt, *Land, Labour and Gold; or Two Years in Victoria with Visits to Sydney and Van Diemen's Land* (London, Longman, Brown, Green, and Longmans, 1855), Vol. 2, pp. 135-136.

³⁹ Howitt, *Land*, Vol. 1, p. 170.

⁴⁰ Ellen Clacy, *A lady's Visit to the Gold Diggings of Australia in 1852 - 53, Written on the Spot* (London, Hurst & Blackett, 1853), pp. 106-107.

⁴¹ Clacy, *A lady's Visit*, p. 95.

⁴² Bonwick, *Notes of a Gold Digger* in Keesing, *Gold Rushes*, pp. 157, 159.

⁴³ MacKay, *History of Bendigo*, p. 3.

diggers had done their worst - Happy Valley, and a Paddy's Gully, owned by a Scotsman.⁴⁴

Nevertheless, even with wide dissemination of these revisionist descriptions of the early goldfield, later writers perpetuated the romance of the idealised 'Old Bendigo'. The realist narratives had to compete with the agency of nostalgia which, according to Davis 'envelop[s] all that may have been painful or unattractive about the past [in] a kind of buzzy, redeemingly benign aura [and] the hurts, annoyances, disappointments, and irritations, if they are permitted to intrude at all, are filtered forgivingly through an 'it-was-all-for-the-best' attitude'.⁴⁵ The intrinsic conservatism of nostalgia offered writers with memories of Bendigo what Laurajane Smith styles an inherent 'plea for social continuity, often in the face of change'.⁴⁶ Despite the contrary evidence, the warmly-remembered and romanticised ideal of 'Dear Old Bendigo' persisted as a talisman for luck. An 1863 *Otago Daily Times* article which described the Victorian field's 'freshly discovered reefs in the Whipstick scrub, whose riches would quickly transform the lucky finder into a modern Croesus, and make old Bendigo brisk again'.⁴⁷

The pioneering 'Old Bendigo', when riches were won at the bottom of a deep hole in a twelve-foot square claim, evolved in 1853 into syndicate operations and quartz company claims. It became the comfortable, ably-governed, marriage-civilised place where older miners remembered younger, tougher versions of themselves through the misty filter of nostalgia. This shift in perception even allowed miners who had previously counted themselves among the oppressed to mourn the passing of the former magistrate 'Bendigo Mac', McLachlan, who 'by his stern but even-handed justice ... soon made old Bendigo the most orderly of the diggings' instead of remembering his sometimes draconian application of the law.⁴⁸ Henry Lawson captured the loss of innocence implicit in the earlier days in the wistful 'Gone – all gone from [Bendigo's] Golden Gully, for its golden days are o'er'.⁴⁹

While no contemporary sources offer insight into the origin of the 'Old Bendigo' mythos, these 'edgier' narratives of Bendigo's earliest manifestation offer a potential explanation for the near-instant nostalgiacising implicit in the nostalgic descriptor. A

⁴⁴ 'Old Bendigo, Memories of the 'Sixties', *Melbourne Argus*, 6 January 1934, p. 9.

⁴⁵ Fred Davis, *Yearning for Yesterday – a Sociology of Nostalgia* (New York, Free Press, 1979), p. 14.

⁴⁶ Laurajane Smith, *Uses of Heritage* (London, Routledge, 2006), p. 41.

⁴⁷ 'From Bendigo to Gabriel's, by a New Chum Correspondent', *Otago Daily Times*, 16 May 1863, p. 6.

⁴⁸ 'Our Australian Letter', *Otago Daily Times*, 19 August 1885, p. 3.

⁴⁹ Henry Lawson, 'Golden Gully', in *The Bulletin*, ed., J.F. Archibald, (Sydney, Christmas 1887), p. 8.

collective discourse around memories of new Australians enjoying a ‘manly society’ whilst enduring shared privation in a harsh, waterless climate, a shortage of supplies, battles with a burdensome license system and corrupt police, plus the back-breaking work of mining this raw, dangerous frontier, combined to create a sense of social collectivism not obviously present in the later, more ‘civilised’ gold fields. Additionally, Bendigo’s contribution to the license fee battles of the early 1850s was a year of protests culminating in the seminal Red Ribbon protest and 10,000 signature petition of August 1853⁵⁰, events which point to an awareness of the power of deftly-applied collective power and unified intent among the diggers there. Surmounting the challenges of the harsh environment of 1852 Bendigo produced and enshrined the latent ‘Aussie mateship’ which had emerged in the earlier pioneer bush narratives, conferring this as a defining national trait. This created the men of which Lawson would write:

They tramp in mateship side by side-
The Protestant and the “Roman”-
They call no biped lord or “sir”,
And touch their hats to no man!⁵¹

The mateship myth is widely held as foundational in stirring the collective construction of a nationalist cultural mystique which turned the geographical conception of an antipodean continent into a nation, in what Charles Blackton calls an Australian ‘protonationalism’.⁵² This locates the early events and pioneers of Bendigo at the heart of the emergence of an Australian – expressly non-British – identity, with its own destiny. Thus, the mythological ‘old’ Bendigo, with its conflicting claims for discovery, divergent memories upon which it was nostalgiased and the increasing distance in terms of both geography and time, operates according to the cultural process of mythology described by Roland Barthes, ‘glossing over’ the historical contradictions to render it a ‘naturalized’ narrative.⁵³ Recent scholarship has cast doubt on the perpetuating of the mateship ideal, with Monash academic Nick Dyrenfurth noting the appropriation of the twinned concepts of ‘Aussie mateship’ and the ‘Aussie battler’ by the political right: ‘Howard has metaphorically hijacked the discourses

⁵⁰ Anne Beggs-Sunter and Paul Williams, ‘Eureka’s impact on Victorian politics: the fight for Democratic Responsible Government in Victoria, 1854-7’, in the proceedings of *Labour Traditions: The tenth national labour history conference*, 4-6 July 2007, University of Melbourne, URL: http://www.historycooperative.org/proceedings/asslh2/beggs_sunter.html.

⁵¹ Henry Lawson, ‘The Shearers’, *When I was King and Other Verses*, (Sydney, Angus and Robertson, 1905), p. 33.

⁵² Charles S. Blackton, ‘The Dawn of Australian National Feeling, 1850-1856’, *Pacific Historical Review* 24.2 1955. p. 123.

⁵³ Roland Barthes, *Mythologies* (Paris, Editions de Seuil, 1957), trs., Annette Lavers (London, Jonathan Cape, 1972), p. 129.

of collectivism and egalitarianism, colonising and inverting such belief systems with a perverse and ironic ethic of “practical mateship”. The effect of this has been to empty the very meaning of the central symbols and rhetoric of traditional political discourse’.⁵⁴ This would suggest that shifting hegemonies would render a new look at the construction of this myth is overdue, but as Dyrenfurth concludes ‘in giving up the icons of egalitarianism, the Left has practically severed one of the more solid and imaginative connections to everyday life. Yet such imagery may provide a useful narrative to hold Howard to account in the minds of ordinary Australians: the icons of mateship and a fair go reclaimed and infused with a critically inclusive meaning of fairness and equality.’

The way in which the descriptor ‘Old’ is employed here was a common one in the late 19th century; its use in the titles of many publications signified separation from the past, highlighted progress or emphasise the passage of time in ways that underwrote settlement. Books like Buick’s *Old Manawatu, or The Wild Days of the West*, Downes’ *Old Whanganui*, or Derrincourt’s *Old Convict Days*⁵⁵ used ‘old’ in a conscious effort to emphasise that these new landscapes and societies actually had a history, while others used the term to delineate between new immigrants and the pioneers who were first to the old ‘boom’ centres, with an implicit pejorative against the ‘new chums’ who did not have to endure the hard life of the first residents. Nevertheless, two aspects of ‘Old Bendigo’ make it unique: the unusually rapid adoption of this nostalgic nomenclature throughout Australasia, and its use by New Zealand writers about their gold rushes, despite having local spectacularly rich fields for comparison. It also remains an intriguing puzzle to consider that, with the events of the Eureka Stockade in 1854 resonating throughout Australian historiography of the goldfields and constantly referenced as a defining event in the formation of the national character in popular histories,⁵⁶ ‘Old Ballarat’ is never used in the way ‘Old Bendigo’ came to be.

Bendigo Crosses the Tasman

⁵⁴ Nick Dyrenfurth, ‘Howard, Hegemony and Values: the Left and the problem of Mateship’, *Arena Magazine*, no. 79, October-November 2005, pp. 14-16.

⁵⁵ T. Lindsay Buick, *Old Manawatu, or The Wild Days of the West* (Palmerston North: Buick and Young, 1903); Thomas William Downes *Old Whanganui* (Wanganui, W.A. Parkinson, 1915); William Derrincourt, ed., Louis Becke (London, T. Fisher Unwin, 1889).

⁵⁶ Warwick Frost, ‘Refighting the Eureka Stockade: Managing and Marketing the Heritage of a Dissonant Battlefield’, Monash University Department of Management and Economics Working Paper Series ISSN 1327 – 5216, (paper presented at the Council for Australian University Tourism and Hospitality Education Conference, University of Technology Sydney, Manly, February 2007), pp. 2-4; Anne Beggs-Sunter, ‘Contested Memories of Eureka: Museum Interpretations of the Eureka Stockade’, *Labour History* 85 2003, pp. 29-31.

The significance of the name and its ‘lucky’ status for superstitious miners meant it came to New Zealand with Australian diggers in the Otago rush of the 1860s, adorning newly-opened hotel facades as goldfields spread from Lawrence to Clyde, and over to Westport, Kaniere, Greymouth and eventually Thames. Additional mining Bendigos appeared in New Zealand. The first was the United Bendigo Company, a syndicate of miners working Manuherikia Point near modern Alexandra.⁵⁷ This successful, large-scale alluvial operation built dams, water races and shafts to work riverside land from early 1863 into late 1865. The second, beginning at the same time as their Alexandra counterparts, was a group of Thames miners who followed the same naming-for-luck convention when they found a new quartz seam near Moanataiari Creek, called it the ‘Bendigo Reef’.⁵⁸

In 1864, Otago gained its own town of Bendigo. In late 1862 miners used Thomson’s Saddle, an old Māori greenstone trail over the Dunstan Range, to catch the ferry at Albertown on their way to the rich Shotover, Arrow and Cardrona goldfields. At the western end of the trail, near where it turned north towards the ferry, their route traversed a shallow basin-shaped valley (FIGURE 1.3), where miners who paused to test the ground found poor, sparse gold compared with the Shotover and Arrow fields.⁵⁹ Since miners in these locations were ‘earning in a few days amounts as large as [Central Otago Gold rush Discoverers] Hartley and Riley did in months’, this area, which they called ‘Rocky Point’ after the nearby Post Office on the Clutha, was largely ignored.⁶⁰ The sporadically-worked gully was hampered by a lack of water and was regarded as a ‘tucker’ field at best by those few miners who persisted there. This changed in 1864 when sluicing companies, developing the kind of mining that can make poor ground pay, began digging races to Bendigo Gully. The increased water flow into the catchment led to a resurgence of mining there, with a population of 130 and several stores. The ruin of O’Donnell’s hotel, store, bakery and butchery (built in late 1869, with additions in the mid-1870s, see FIGURE 1.3) is the only significant remnant of this settlement. It is presumed that veterans of Victoria named it ‘Bendigo Gully’ after the Australian town in the hope – or superstition - that its riches might be replicated there.⁶¹

⁵⁷ ‘Dunstan’, *Otago Daily Times*, 11 July 1864, p. 5.

⁵⁸ ‘Coromandel’, *Daily Southern Cross*, 20 May 1863, p. 3.

⁵⁹ Joseph Dods, Testimony, Appendix to the Journals of the House of Representatives, 1878 Session I, I-01a, Goldfields Committee, (Report of, On Petition of Daniel James Moore, Together with Minutes of Evidence.), October 11 1878, p. 4.

⁶⁰ Charles L. Packe, ‘The Dunstan’, *Otago Witness*, 27 December 1862, p. 2. Hartley and Riley found 87 pounds of gold in the Cromwell Gorge, sparking the Central Otago rush in August, 1862.

⁶¹ ‘The Dunstan’, *Otago Witness*, 15 September 1866, p. 8.



FIGURE 1.3 The shallow, basin-shaped Bendigo Gully, looking east. O'Donnell's Store complex in mid-upper left. Photograph L. Carpenter, 2012.

In early 1870, government surveyor Arthur surveyed the town of Bendigo near the Cromwell Company's Solway Battery (FIGURE 1.4). Since Bendigo Gully began eleven years after the

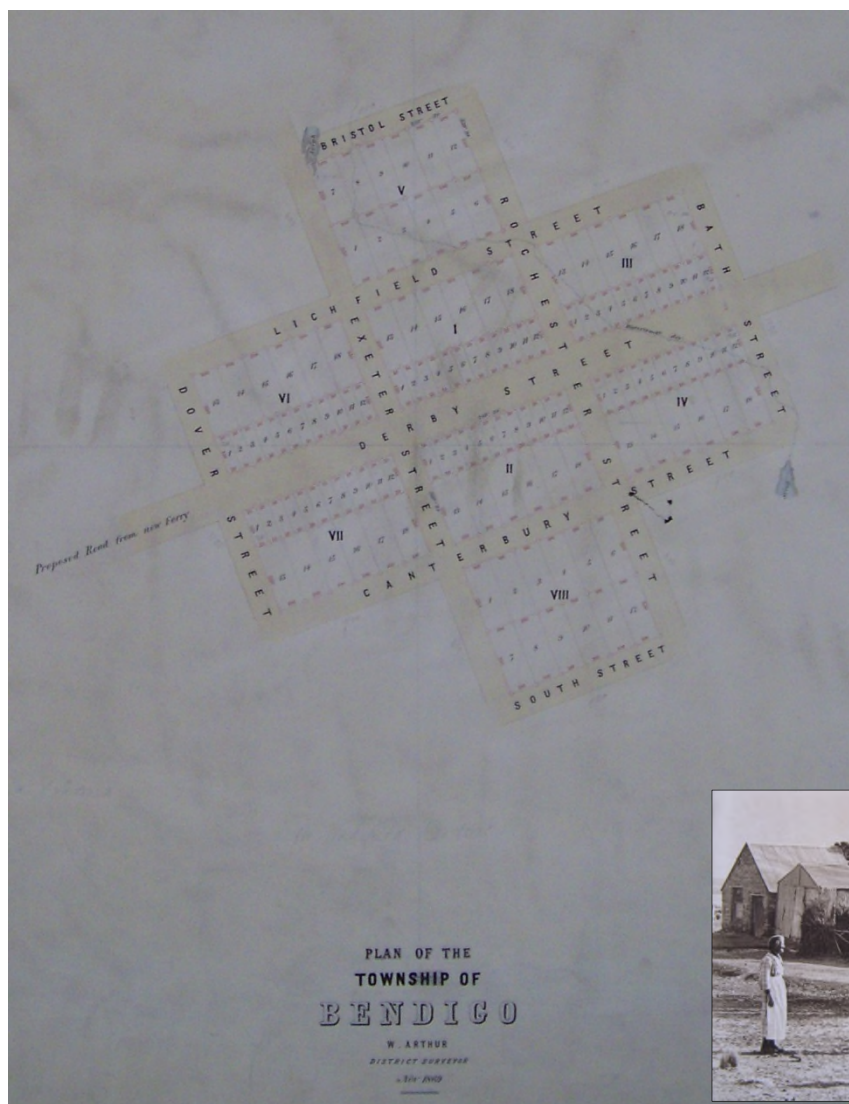


FIGURE 1.4 District Surveyor W. Arthur's survey of Bendigo, dated November 1869 and registered February 1870. (Land Information New Zealand, Dunedin Office, Survey 14113Tn).

While some sections in the township were sold, none were built on. As far as the locals were concerned, the town was always in the wrong place, and an extension to the survey was commissioned in mid-1870 to allow for title to be issued on the business premises which were built in October, 1869.

(Inset, below: Bendigo, Otago c. 1934. Photograph Courtesy Kevin Hayes, Ripponvale, Otago. Used with Permission. This is located NE of South Street on the survey)



first use of the phrase, and the official town was surveyed at least seven years later, clearly no-one used 'Old Bendigo' to distinguish locations in the two colonies. New Zealanders commenting on events in Australia used the nostalgic 'Old' Bendigo for all their comments about the earlier field, ignoring the twinned nomenclature. When Otago readers read of the 1876 arrest of former Victorian police superintendent David Armstrong, he was described as the man who held sway 'in old Bendigo in '52'.⁶² No clarification was required to identify which Australasian Bendigo was discussed; it was enough that 'old Bendigo' was used.

A Measure of Mines and Men

When new goldfields were declared in Central Otago, New Zealand newspapermen to comparing the richness or otherwise of the new regions, never looked further than Bendigo. An early report of the Dunstan field in 1862 states 'Our informant, who is an old Victorian, says that there has been nothing like it since the days of Old Bendigo'.⁶³ Similarly in 1863, a writer said of Moke Creek, 'if Otago possesses any gold-fields at all equal to the famous Mount Alexander or Old Bendigo, they have yet to be discovered'.⁶⁴ On the West Coast, 'these incontrovertible facts show a return of gold, for our population, superior to any New Zealand gold field, and will even compare favourably with the best days of old Bendigo in Victoria'.⁶⁵ Bendigo was more than an Australian town; for these writers, it was the zenith of pioneering goldfields in Australasia. Despite the riches – including several huge nuggets – found at Ballarat in Victoria, and even when vast, pound-weight golden hauls were publicised in Otago's Shotover and Arrow Rivers, they could not usurp Bendigo's place as the epitome of standards with which the rest of the gold world would be compared.

This exclusivity was taken a step further when 'Bendigo Men' lent weight to reports of any new enterprise. Again this was only ever true of Bendigo, never anywhere else in New Zealand, Australia or California. First used by Victorian newspapers in 1852, quoting 'an old Bendigo man' became the guarantee of veracity.⁶⁶ This continued in New Zealand. For example a (pre-Central Otago rush) 1862 report from Gabriel's Gully declares that 'the best of the miners were from "Old Bendigo"', because 'men engaged in this kind of working, are always men continuous in their efforts, and usually settle down to it, with the same untiring

⁶² 'David Armstrong', *Tuapeka Times*, 8 April 1876, p. 3.

⁶³ 'The Dunstan Diggings – the New Rushes', *Otago Daily Times*, 3 November 1862, p. 5.

⁶⁴ 'Otago – The Wakatip Diggings', *Colonist*, 15 December 1863, p. 3.

⁶⁵ 'The West Coast Gold-fields – Arrival of 9250 Ounces from the Grey', *Colonist*, 28 November 1865, p. 2.

⁶⁶ 'Echunga Diggings', *South Australian Register*, 4 October 1852, p. 7.

industry that they would apply to their trade or calling'.⁶⁷ Likewise just after the Dunstan Field was declared in 1862, an eyewitness' report of seeing 'a parcel of about 30 oz. in the hands of some Bendigo men, entirely composed of rough gold'⁶⁸ ensured it would be taken seriously. Even the Provincial Government-appointed goldfields officer, Warden Williamson, decided that, despite writing in a dispassionate official capacity, he needed to cite a Bendigo authority when he wrote of new finds: 'I have granted two prospecting claims on quartz reefs, one, on Sailor's Gully ... the other in Adelaide Gully ... An old Bendigo reefer on seeing the Adelaide reef yesterday, immediately pegged off a claim'.⁶⁹ 'Bendigo men' were, according to this mythopoeia, miners whose word could be trusted, whose expertise should be sought and whose good luck was proven. Further strengthening of this mythic identity of the Bendigo miner is evident in the lament about the supposed inactivity around failed quartz claims in the Shotover River area in 1885, when the writer opined 'if the potentialities of our quartz fields were better known to the go-ahead adventurers and miners of Old Bendigo, I am confident the stream of capital and energy would be turned this way',⁷⁰ adding a penchant for heroic risk-taking and enterprising mine development to the other qualities of 'Bendigo men'.

This convention persisted into the twentieth century. In 1908, James McColl, the Bendigo-educated Liberal Senator for Echuca, gave a landmark speech 'Old Bendigo Yesterday, To-day, To-morrow: Its Great Future Discussed'. He remarked in his introduction, 'When Bendigonians meet in far-off places one of the first greetings is, "How is Old Bendigo?" people do not say "Old Melbourne" or "Old Ballarat", but it is always "Old Bendigo", the term being one of fond endearment'.⁷¹ McColl offered no explanation for the nostalgia, or the unique way people referred to Bendigo, but his words revealed the endurance of the myth surrounding the town's earlier era.

In 1869, when the quartz mine at Bendigo Gully became the most successful in Otago it was referred to in several ways, but what seems a deliberate conflation occurred when writers discussed the 'Bendigo Mine' instead of its actual title, 'the Cromwell Quartz Mining Company Mine' (FIGURE 1.5; the development of this mine is discussed in detail in Chapter 6). This produced some convoluted layers of meaning, such as when a miner declared to be 'a

⁶⁷ 'The Gold-fields', *Otago Daily Times*, 3 March 1862, p. 2.

⁶⁸ 'The Dunstan Diggings', *Otago Daily Times*, 27 September 1862, p. 5.

⁶⁹ Editorial, *Otago Daily Times*, 19 November 1863, p. 4.

⁷⁰ Plutus, 'Goldfields Echoes', *Otago Witness*, 14 November 1885, p. 11.

⁷¹ Amanda M. Rolfe, 'McColl, James Hiers (1844–1929)', *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, National Centre of Biography, Australian National University, <http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/mccoll-james-hiers-7317/text12693>, accessed 13 July 2011, (article first published in *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, Volume 10, 1986); *The Melbourne Argus*, 28 March 1908, p. 5.

Bendigo Reefer' (Victorian) successfully prosecuted a claim at the 'Bendigo field' (New Zealand). The report used the two Bendigos with implicit, separated signifiers, yet the writer obviously felt no qualifiers were required to aid comprehension in the same paragraph:

The Bendigo Company at Bendigo Gully took 600oz. out of the last crushing A new reef had been discovered on the adjoining terrace the prospector, an old Bendigo reefer, had got a considerable quantity of stone to the surface, and contemplated a trial crushing at the public stamps.⁷²

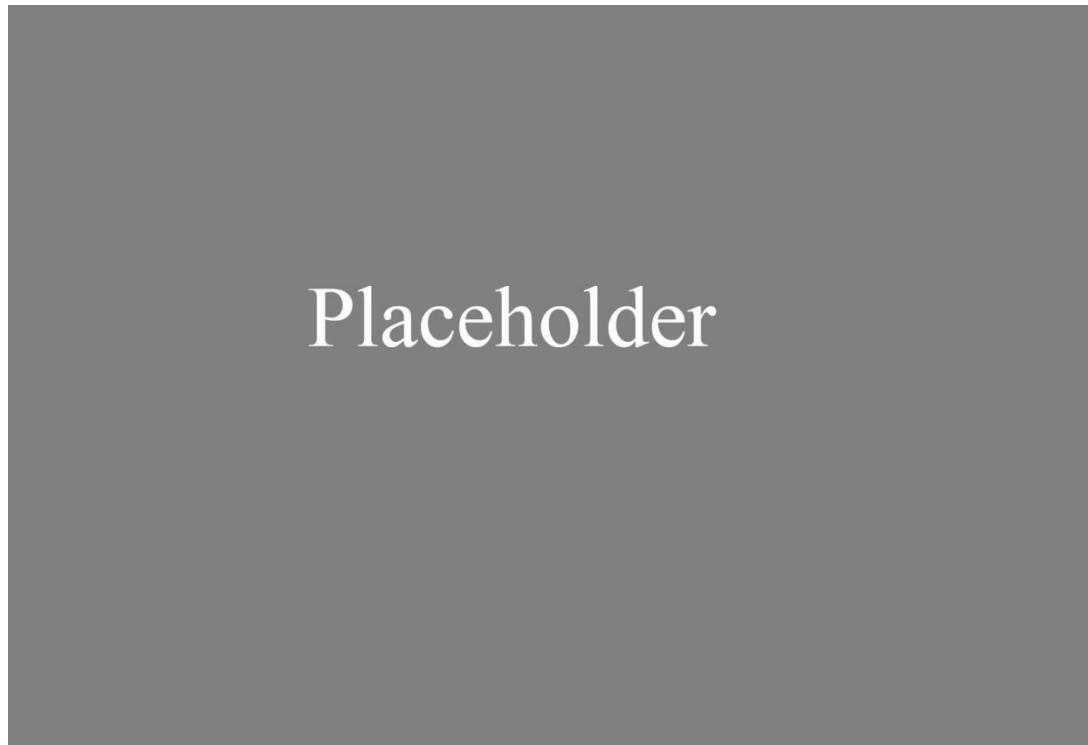


FIGURE 1.5 Cromwell Quartz Mining Co. main shaft at Bendigo, c. 1876. Clyde Historic Museum, used with Permission

As well as Bendigo, there were two 'Little Bendigos' in Victoria. One, a rich area of Forest Creek was opened up in July, 1852⁷³ and another near Eureka, Ballarat was first declared in October of the same year.⁷⁴ But in New South Wales in 1873, Bendigo as a mining name doubled back on itself. In the Bingera Field in New South Wales, the discoverers named their new goldfield 'Little Bendigo' after the Victorian field, and their newly-found quartz claim the 'Bendigo Gully Reef' after the rich Otago mine.⁷⁵ Here, 'Bendigo' reached its apotheosis when it came to naming goldfields in Australasia.

⁷² 'The Goldfields', *Southland Times*, 13 September 1870, p. 2.

⁷³ 'Colonial News – Victoria', *Maitland Mercury & Hunter River General Advertiser*, 17 July 1852, p. 4.

⁷⁴ 'The Ballarat and Eureka Diggings', *Empire*, 11 October 1852, p. 5.

⁷⁵ 'Mining News', *Sydney Morning Herald*, 20 August 1873, p. 3

Bracken lit up a gen'rous, manly flame on dear old Bendigo

The rest of New Zealand became enamoured with an idealised 'Old Bendigo' when poet (and eventual New Zealand national anthem lyricist) Thomas Bracken wrote a poem with that name. At the age of ten, following the death of his parents, Irish-born Bracken had emigrated to his uncle's farm near Melbourne before he was apprenticed to a chemist in Bendigo. He then worked on a station north-east of Bendigo and shifted to New Zealand in 1869, where he worked as a journalist and founded the *Saturday Advertiser*, *Time-table*, and *New Zealand Literary Miscellany* newspaper in July 1875.⁷⁶

In 1876, his poem was published in his paper and reprinted a week later in many provincial daily newspapers:

Old Bendigo.

Let Poley go with Redman; mind be careful of the steer;
Bring Bob and Rambler from the creek they'll find good picking here.
Just fling this she-oak on the fire; there, catch that end, now throw—
This 'minds me of our maiden trip to dear old Bendigo.

....

Oh, when we camped upon the track—that damper must be done—
Around the blazing log at night, what tough old yarns were spun
By Sydney Ned, and Derwent Bill, and Murrumbidgee Joe!
Where are they now? Ah, mate, they'll drive no more to Bendigo.

....

No other land has mustered such a kingly race of men
As that brave golden legion on the march to fortune then;
The digger's shirt was freedom's badge: beneath it honour's glow
Lit up a gen'rous, manly flame on dear old Bendigo.

....

The track of life is sometimes smooth, at other times 'tis rough;
But we must take it as it comes—this beef is *rayther* tough—
I feel a spider on my cheek—I've caught the varmint—no;
Why, bless me! if it ain't a tear for dear old Bendigo.⁷⁷

Bracken simplifies the emotions, concerns and lives of his protagonists, giving each recognisable, distinctly Australian names and using the landscape and pioneering lifestyle to imagine Bendigo in a way he knew would be consistent with the mythologised memory of his readers, but also anthropomorphising the town as the most loyal of miner's mates in the

⁷⁶ William S. Broughton. 'Bracken, Thomas - Biography', from the Dictionary of New Zealand Biography. Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand, updated 22 September, 2011, <http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/biographies/2b35/1>. Accessed 1 July 2011.

⁷⁷ Thomas Bracken, 'Old Bendigo', *Tuapeka Times*, 7 June 1876, p. 3.

telling. For the next forty years the nine verses of this poem were a constant at variety evenings, often bracketed with Bracken's other famous poem, the religious-themed 'Not Understood'. 'Old Bendigo' was even read by New Zealand Premier Richard Seddon when he visited Bendigo (where in 1863 he had been a miner) during his last trip to Australia in 1906.⁷⁸

Considering the popularity of the poem, it is possible that uses of 'Old Bendigo' in the New Zealand press after 1876 referenced Bracken's phrase. In 1892, Bracken published *Dear Old Bendigo (a Sketch of the Early Digging Days), and Rogers of Eaglehawk*, a small book of verse and essays including both 'Old Bendigo' and the newly-written *Rogers* poems, a commentary on several Thatcher songs (which hints at some level of personal acquaintance with the balladeer), potted biographies of former Bendigo residents now resident in New Zealand, and an essay headed *Prefatory* which discusses the nostalgic romanticism of the 'Dear Old Bendigo' phrase. In the latter essay, he admits 'the reason for this affectation for Bendigo... is difficult to explain... perhaps the romance which attached to the trip up to the diggings in the golden days, has a good deal to do with it.... [and] there is a certain euphony about the word "Bendigo" which attracts the ear'.⁷⁹

For New Zealanders not living on goldfields, most references to 'Old Bendigo' after 1876 would probably connote the poem. Australians, largely ignorant of the existence of the poem until the late 1880s when it was published in *The Land of the Maori and the Moa, Musings in Maoriland*, already had their mythologised, pioneer-era Old Bendigo. Bracken's poem therefore reinforced extant perceptions rather than created new ones. Several Australians have told me that memorising the poem was part of their primary school education in the 1960s and 1970s, so it seems the poem has not totally lost its hold on the public imagination, nor its importance in encapsulating the Australian mythos.

The fondness for Victoria's Bendigo manifested itself in more than just the unofficial endearment 'old'; in a reflection of an institutional level of affection for the field, the first Australian pound note issued in 1913 featured Cornish quartz miners working at the bottom of the Victoria Gold Mine in Bendigo, confirming their iconic status in the national mindset.⁸⁰

⁷⁸ Randall M. Burdon, *King Dick* (Christchurch, Whitcombe and Tombs Ltd., 1955), pp. 5, 318-9. Seddon died on the voyage home.

⁷⁹ Thomas Bracken, *Dear Old Bendigo, (a Sketch of the Early Digging Days), and Rogers of Eaglehawk* (Bendigo, Robshaw, 1892), p. 6.

⁸⁰ The Victoria Quartz Mine was then the world's deepest at 1395m (4613ft).

A Global Brand

The name Bendigo has several other manifestations world-wide, revealing the name as an early global brand, but each resist facile explanation of why this was so. Off the coast of Wilmington, North Carolina, lies the wreck of an American Civil War Blockade Runner, the 178 ton, iron-hulled paddle wheeler *Bendigo*.⁸¹ After the *Bendigo* made several navigational errors, pursuing Union ships forced it ashore on January 3, 1864. The hulk is still visible, a spectacular reminder of the naval battles of the Civil War (see FIGURE 1.6). The details of the battle between the Union ship *USS Fahkee* and the *Bendigo* are known, but nothing remains to explain why a blockade runner on the Wilmington-Nassau run, originally named *Milly*, was re-christened *Bendigo* after either a British boxer or an Australian gold town.⁸²



FIGURE 1.6 Bendigo Wreck, North Carolina, Top of boilers looking east across Lockwoods Folly Inlet, from Holden Beach, Naval Wreck site Cape Fear Civil War National Register Shipwreck District, N.C. Underwater Archaeology Unit Reference 0001LF1.

Photograph June, 1985, Courtesy of Mark Wilde-Ramsing & Wilson Angley, N.C. Underwater Archaeology Unit. (From <http://www.archaeology.ncdcr.gov/ncarch/UAB/pdf%20Files/Cape%20Fear%20Civil%20War%20Shipwreck%20Register.pdf>)

⁸¹ The Civil War Wrecks of Lockwood Folly Inlet Website, <http://southcarolina-offshore.com/content-print-page-13.html>, accessed 1 July 2011.

⁸² John M. Holden, *The Beginning and Development of Holden Beach 1756-2000* (Charlotte, J.F. Holden Publishing, 2000), excerpted in author's website, Allen Holden Vacation Website, <http://www.holden-beach.com/content/blockade-runners.asp>, updated April, 2011. Accessed 1 July 2011.



FIGURE 1.7 Bendigo, Orkney; The Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Scotland Canmore ID 191512, Degaussing Station, Orkney, HY 4425 0730 Archaeological Notes HY40NW 29 4425 0730 (From http://www.scotlandspplaces.gov.uk/search_item/index.php?service=RCAHMS&id=191512 accessed 20 April 2013).

There are two locations called Bendigo in the Orkney Islands. One, a small residential area in the parish of St Margaret's Hope on South Ronaldsay has been known as Bendigo since at least 1861.⁸³ Tradition has a local returning from the Victorian goldfield in the late 1850s to buy a farm, naming it after the place where he found his wealth.⁸⁴ The other is a small submarine de-gaussing station built on Orkney in 1940 overlooking Scapa Flow.⁸⁵ This Archaeological site's remains are typically scant after post-war demolition and site clearing, but the concrete foundations may still be traced, as is shown in FIGURE 1.7 below. South Africa surpasses all other countries with four Bendigos: a coastal resort in Kwazulu Natal; a small town in the Orange Free State near Sasolburg; Bendigo Forest on the Cape Province Coast, and a railway station called Bendigo Heights near Concordia in Transvaal.⁸⁶ Each reflects the influence of migratory miners with Australian experience, such as the Kwazulu

⁸³ Am Baile, The Highland History & Culture website, newspaper archives section, Orkney, http://www.ambaile.org.uk/gd/newspapers/search_results.jsp?newspaper=0&PrimarySubject=0&startyear=&endyear=&keywords=&StartRow=6604, accessed 13 March 2012.

⁸⁴ Pers. comm. via email, 14 March 2012, Neil Allen, Visitor Services Advisor, Kirkwall VisitScotland Information Centre.

⁸⁵ Scotland's Places, government website, Bendigo De-gaussing station, http://www.scotlandspplaces.gov.uk/search_item/index.php?service=RCAHMS&id=191512, accessed 17 May 2012.

⁸⁶ Explore South Africa Tourism Website, http://www.traveljournals.net/explore/south_africa/locations/b/45.html, accessed 17 May 2012.

area which was named by the Australian Charles Knox, a miner who worked a claim at Umzinto in the 1870s before buying a farm on the coast.⁸⁷

In Pennsylvania a popular local park is centred on a former timber town called Bendigo. According to the State Park Service, in 1895 Alfred Truman began a lumber operation and built for his workforce a town called Bendigo on a small creek that fed into the Clarion River. After five years the timber ran out, residents disassembled the mill and abandoned the town. Bendigo State Park began in the 1920s initiated by the civic leaders of nearby Johnsonburg. The swimming area near the mill dam and a picnic area where the town's houses once stood were formally gazetted as the Bendigo State Park in 1954. However in the words of the Park Service: 'It was also forgotten how, why or when the creek and the town were named for a left-handed boxer from Britain nicknamed Bendigo'.⁸⁸

A kingly race of men

Bendigo is the only place in Australasia to have earned the affectionate 'Old' in the earliest narratives. It is unique in the rapidity of the nostalgiasing process and reflects the seismic changes of early digger society a year or so after the goldfield began operating. A combination of the diminution of alluvial gold deposits leading to company-focused quartz enterprises, the civilising agency of better and fairer civic and goldfields governance, increasing urbanisation, and what Mt Ida merchant John Bremner would later call the 'perfect epidemic of matrimony' all combined to change Bendigo from the edge of the frontier to genteel settlement.⁸⁹

Given that each Australian and New Zealand gold town was similarly transformed, the change alone does not adequately explain why Bendigo should be remembered as the romantically constructed 'Old Bendigo' less than eighteen months after its discovery, nor why Bendigo men were revered the way they were. It merely reflects the nature of the vicissitudes that changed the town in the collective memory, from a place to an ideal. It does offer some hints about the process of an emergent identity in each country, revealing intriguing differences in how Australasians saw themselves in the new colonies, and how New Zealanders initially struggled to see themselves as apart from the pioneers of Australia.

⁸⁷ John Eales (Treasurer, Bendigo Conservation Group, Southport, Kwazulu Natal) pers. comm., 18 May 2012.

⁸⁸ Pennsylvania Department of Conservation and Natural Resources Website, Pennsylvania State Parks section, Bendigo, URL: <http://www.dcnr.state.pa.us/stateparks/parks/bendigo.aspx>, accessed 23 March 2011.

⁸⁹ John Gould Bremner, (First printed in *Mount Ida Chronicle*, 1911), *The Mt. Ida Goldfields – A Merchant's Memories* (Dunedin, Maniatoto Early Settlers Association, 1988), p. 13.

Notwithstanding the reticence on the part of the nineteenth century writers to explain why they romanticised ‘Old Bendigo’ as a place, era and ideal, Bendigo is unique in the pioneer goldfields narratives of New Zealand and Australia. It is iconic in both countries, a cornerstone in the construction of Australasian – and particularly Australian – identity, a place where tough and manly miners created a viable community under the twin pressures of a harsh environment and oppressive officialdom. The egalitarian rhetoric associated with the gold diggers ensured that Bendigo provided the prototype of two modern tropes: the ‘good Aussie bloke’ and the ‘Aussie battler’. The first harkens back to when the rush to Bendigo marked a break with the previous convict-dominated colonial era, heralding a push for middle-class respectability and working class solidarity; the second champions Bendigo’s key role in the events which culminated in the Eureka stockade in 1854. Bendigo’s well-organised, articulate and unified 10,000 strong Red Ribbon protest in August 1853 actually persuaded Governor LaTrobe to reform the license system, even if this was later set aside by the Victorian legislature. Geoffrey Serle, Geoffery Blainey and Anne Sunter and Paul Williams suggest that the events of the Eureka stockade in 1854 were conceptually established in the Red Ribbon protest at Bendigo a year earlier.⁹⁰ Given the popular belief that Eureka was foundational in the construction of a unique, non-British Australian identity, the affectation of ‘Old Bendigo’ would suggest awareness of the importance of these events within the context of building the new nation. Additionally, the fact that the 1860s and 1870s goldfields are characterized by increased violence, anti-Chinese race-riots⁹¹ and miners changing from working their own claims to working for wages in deep leads, quartz mines and large-scale sluicing concerns, contributed to the prevalence of viewing Bendigo’s early days as a period of uncomplicated innocence. ‘Old Bendigo’ is a therefore a title built around economic primacy but used in a way to claim moral superiority.

Its appropriation by New Zealand writers and the lack of a local equivalent to ‘Old Bendigo’, also points to the ongoing struggle as New Zealand’s developed of its own identity. Allen Curnow’s bleak ‘land of settlers/ With never a soul at home’ remains – in the opinion of many – a defining characteristic.⁹²

⁹⁰ Serle, *Golden Age*, pp. 101-104; Geoffery Blainey, *The Rush That Never Ended* (Melbourne, Melbourne UP, 1963), p. 53; Anne Beggs-Sunter and Paul Williams, ‘Eureka’s impact on Victorian politics’.

⁹¹ Henry Reynolds, ‘Violence in Australian History’ in *Australian Violence: Contemporary Perspectives*, eds., Duncan Chappell, Peter Grabosky and Heather Strang (Canberra, Australian Institute of Criminology, 1991), pp. 16-18.

⁹² Allen Curnow, ‘House and Land’, *Island and Time* (Christchurch, Caxton Press, 1941), pp. 20-21.

Bracken left the questions unanswered and simply declared of 'Old' Bendigo: 'No other land has mustered such a kingly race of men / As that brave golden legion on the march to fortune then'.⁹³

⁹³ Thomas Bracken, 'Old Bendigo,' *Tuapeka Times*, 7 June 1876, p. 3.

Chapter 2 – Race

Finding Te Wherro in Otakou: Otago Māori and the Early Days of the Gold Rush

... the chances of a rush of Maories have also to be considered, as ... they have a keen appreciation of the value of gold, and will soon be on the spot.¹

Introduction

Chapter one showed that from the very outset in the kind of industrial settlement exemplified by Bendigo, vigorous processes of mythologisation were at work. My systematic dismantling or challenging of those myths continues by examining an element typically overlooked in imperialist myths of settlement: the role of indigenous populations. It has been believed that in the other rushes worldwide, few indigenous people were mining in any capacity other than as wage labourers, and in scant numbers at that.

However recent scholarship by Keir Reeves and others at Monash University² and Fred Cahir at the University of Ballarat³ refutes such conclusions and reveals that there was a far greater level of Australian aboriginal mining than was previously believed or acknowledged. Additionally, the phenomenon of Native American mining at California has been an increasing field of study since the 1970s⁴; although it was mentioned in earlier texts like Caughey's 1948 *Gold Is the Cornerstone* and is discussed in detail by Holliday in *The*

¹ NOTE: Throughout this chapter, the word 'Maoris' or 'Maories' for referring to groups of Māori is used by writers. This is incorrect, since the Māori alphabet has no letter 's', but the original spelling, and that of misspelt names, when they appear, is maintained to reflect the original historical sources. Where modern writers would write 'Māori' using modern macronised spelling, the original form is preserved in quotations, names and titles. This quote is from: 'Mining Intelligence', *The Star* (Ballarat), 24 August 1861, p. 2.

² K. Reeves, 'Tracking the Dragon Down Under: Chinese Cultural Connections in Gold Rush Australia and Aotearoa, New Zealand', *Graduate Journal of Asia-Pacific Studies*, 3:1, 2005, p.56.

³ D. Cahir, *Black Gold – Aboriginal People on the Goldfields of Victoria, 1850-1870*, (Ballarat, Australian National UP, with Aboriginal History Inc, 2012).

⁴ For example, J.J. Rawls, 'Gold Diggers: Indian Miners in the California Gold Rush', *California Historical Quarterly*, Vol. 55, No. 1, Spring, 1976, pp. 28-45.

World Rushed In and others.⁵ Some scholarship has been completed to examine Māori miners working in New Zealand, but more remains to be done.⁶

It is not clear, once the Aorere field in late 1856 or the Otago fields in the early 1860s were declared, whether any Māori miners came back from Australia to work in the new gold regions of their home land (See Appendix 1 of this thesis 'Māori Miners in Australia'), but that Māori were active in the Central Otago gold rush is no longer a mystery.

Nearly every history of Otago gold begins with Vincent Pyke's statement 'That the Maoris were aware of the occurrence of gold, before the arrival of European colonists, is a tolerably well established fact'.⁷ Through the examination of the newspaper records, I have revealed that the actual narrative of Otago Māori mining gold in the early 1860s has a history far more complex than has been previously identified. This study discusses Māori mining in Otago in the period leading up to 1865.

A Silent Record

No journal written by Māori miners working in the early days of the Central Otago gold rush is known. Later Māori miners, most notably William Gilbert Mouat of Bullendale and Bendigo (Otago) left a record⁸, but for the heady days the early 1860s when swarms of miners crossed and re-crossed the province in a headlong scramble for gold, the record is silent and any analysis is reliant on newspaper reports and the perceptions of other miners.

⁵ Caughey, John Walton, *Gold Is the Cornerstone*, (Los Angeles, University of California Press, 1948), pp. 27, 193; Holliday, J.S., *The World Rushed in – the California Gold Rush Experience*, (New York, Simon & Schuster, 1981), pp. 38 – 41, 328.

⁶ The significant impact of Māori miners participating in the West Coast gold rushes of the 1860s to 1880s is covered in J. Halket Millar's *Westland's Golden 'Sixties* (Wellington, Reed, 1959, pp. 9 – 15, 31 – 33, 36, 52, 55, 91 – 94, 112, 192); Philip Ross May's *The West Coast Gold Rushes* (Christchurch, Pegasus Press, 1962, pp. 66 – 69, 84 – 85, 89, 92 – 94, 152, 157, 160, 298); and in John Salmon's *History of Goldmining in New Zealand* (Wellington, Government Printer, 1963, pp. 129, 132, 134). Salmon also discusses Māori mining in Nelson in 1857 (pp. 36 – 37), research which has been updated by Hilary and John Mitchell in their *Te Tau Ihu o Te Waka: A History of Maori of Nelson and Marlborough, Vol II, Te Ara Hou – The New Society* (Wellington, Huia, 2004, pp. 186, 272, 299 – 309, 328, 444). The Mitchells also discuss the development of the Buller and West Coast goldfields by Māori extending the Nelson field (pp. 309 – 328). For the Coromandel, Salmon also notes Māori miners, research which is supported by recent work by Paul Monin (*Hauraki Contested 1769-1875*, Wellington, Bridget Williams Books), 2001, pp. 140, 178, 181, 206; and by Philip Hart, who examines the work of Māori prospectors and miners around Te Aroha in his 'Maori and Mining: A Case Study of Hone Werahiko and Te Aroha', *Journal of Australasian Mining History*, Vol. 1, 1, 2003, pp. 79 – 94.

⁷ V. Pyke, *History of the Early Gold Discoveries in Otago*, (Dunedin, Otago Daily Times and Witness Newspapers Company, 1887), p. 5.

⁸ W.G. Mouat *Devonport Ahoy! Recollections by Gilbert & Dick Mouat, The Memoirs of William Gilbert Mouat 1863 – 1956, Land surveyor, Mine surveyor, Gold Miner, Gold dredge operator, designer & builder, Engineering consultant*. Broad, M.O, (ed.), Dunedin. URL: <http://www.rgreen.org.uk/WGM.html>; updated 2003, Accessed 6 April, 2012.

This is problematic, because several influences informed how newspapermen and others wrote about Māori. Articles and editorials reveal that there was an enduring frisson of excitement at the otherness of a mysterious, mythological Māori culture.⁹ The newspapermen, nearly all of whom were new colonists, encountered Māori as an assiduously-constructed mythos of savage, ritualised warfare (with inevitable accusations of a cannibalistic aftermath), listing Te Rauparaha's raid on Kaiapoi, Te Pouho's raid south to Tūtūrau and the legends attached to 'Bloody Jack' Tūhawaiki of Ngāi Tahu and his battles around Murihiku¹⁰ to support their thinking, all of which is reinforced by recapitulation of highly-publicised bloody encounters like the burning of the *Boyd* in 1809¹¹ and the Wairau 'Incident' of 1843¹².

These, mixed with the otherness of deeply-etched moko (facial tattoos) and communal living, made for an instant mythopoeia, which led editors to regard Māori as noble savages at best, or at worst, a latent threat hidden beneath a thin skein of European 'civilisation' and behind the impenetrable wall of the incomprehensible exotic. This in turn meant those who wrote, tended to produce a stilted, shallow semiotic of the 'native', where Māori kaupapa disappears into a haze of expectations of Victorian ideas of indiginity, such as the 1857 editorial of the *Otago Witness*, which warned:

What may be the result of these outbreaks of the warlike propensities of the Maori, it is not easy to determine with a scattered population, or even the populations of towns, without some organization some previously concerted course of action and plan of defence a very insignificant attacking force might massacre the major part of the community.... We believe the danger to be greater than most of our readers will imagine it to be. The discovery of gold and the development of digging may attract lawless and reckless characters who, in coming in contact with the natives, may be less careful in avoiding an encounter and as it is the custom amongst the Natives not to seek out the perpetrator of a crime, but to make the whole tribe answerable, any violence committed by a white man would be revenged upon the Europeans indiscriminately.¹³

⁹ J.T. O'Leary, *The Colonising Pen: Mid-Nineteenth-Century European Writing about Maori*, PhD Thesis, Victoria University of Wellington, 2001, Chapter 3 "A Regular Account" – Prose Accounts of Maori, 1832-1859', pp. 26-91.

¹⁰ Atholl Anderson. 'Tuhawaiki, Hone - Tuhawaiki, Hone', from the Dictionary of New Zealand Biography. Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand, updated 11-Feb-2013 URL: <http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/biographies/1t110/tuhawaiki-hone>, Accessed 10 April, 2013.

¹¹ 'The Boyd incident - a frontier of chaos?', URL: <http://www.nzhistory.net.nz/culture/maori-european-contact-before-1840/the-boyd-incident>, (Ministry for Culture and Heritage), updated 20-Dec-2012, Accessed 10 April, 2013.

¹² G.W. Rusden, *History of New Zealand. Volume I*, (London, Chapman and Hall Limited, 1883), pp. 327-335.

¹³ Editorial, *Otago Witness*, 26 September 1857, p. 4.

Additionally, the land wars of the north tended to be characterised in the Otago press as being between an ‘impudent’,¹⁴ ‘savage race’¹⁵ of Māori working as a ‘murderous and robbing crew’¹⁶ fighting in a war of ‘rebellion’ with the crown,¹⁷ leading to a notion in many commentaries constructing Māori as inherently dangerous.

This was seized upon by Australian goldfields newspapermen who, dismayed at the loss of the local population to Otago in 1861, raised the spectre of hordes of Māori invaders to any goldfield as an inducement to stay in Victoria:

it is to be hoped that those disposed to try the new field will count the chances before they start... already provisions are at famine prices nearly on the new gold field, the weather is severe... [and] the chances of a rush of Maories have also to be considered, as though the natives are not in any strength in that part now, they have a keen appreciation of the value of gold, and will soon be on the spot.¹⁸

This was greeted with derision in the offices of the *Otago Colonist*, who sarcastically chided their *Ballarat Times* counterpart, saying ‘we have no fear of... Maories rushing the ground in such numbers as will lead them to assume such an attitude towards Europeans as will make our goldfields anything but a pleasant residence for them’.¹⁹ However the Australian writer’s comment that Māori ‘have a keen appreciation of the value of gold’ had a longer lineage than is widely appreciated.

De Blosseville’s Mines of 1824

Jules de Blosseville wrote a comprehensive description of the Dusky Sound and southern region of the South Island, even though he did not sail there to explore the region. He was a midshipman on the French expeditionary vessel *Coquille* under M. Duperrey²⁰ who visited

¹⁴ Editorial, *Otago Daily Times*, 21 August 1862, p. 4.

¹⁵ Editorial, *Otago Daily Times*, 15 August 1862, p. 4.

¹⁶ Editorial, *Otago Daily Times*, 21 August 1862, p. 4.

¹⁷ For example, ‘Native Politics’, *Otago Daily Times*, 17 March 1862, p. 4; Editorial, 13 April 1863, p. 4; ‘The Native War’, 17 June 1863, p. 5; ‘General Political’, 18 July 1863, p. 5 and others.

¹⁸ ‘Mining Intelligence’, *The Star* (Ballarat), 24 August 1861, p. 2.

¹⁹ Editorial, *The Otago Colonist*, 6 September 1861, p. 4.

²⁰ Neither Duperrey, de Blosseville or the *Coquille* are as well-known as Duperrey’s second-in-command, Jules Sébastien César Dumont d’Urville, who returned to New Zealand in 1826 in the *Coquille* - re-named *Astrolabe* - and mapped much of the coast of New Zealand. (See J.C. Beaglehole, *The Discovery of New Zealand*, (Wellington, Oxford UP, 1961), pp.76-77).

Australia and the Bay of Islands in 1824.²¹ Despite his relative youth, he was adept as a research anthropologist while he was in Australia, taking an interest in New Zealand. His interest was sparked by the exotica of Māori, and the mysteries of the largely-unexplored lands which contrasted so strongly with the Australia on his doorstep.



FIGURE 2.1 Jules Poret de Blosseville 1802 – 1825. Image from carte de visite c. 1830 when appointed to command La Lilloise, print by by Francois Jacques Dequevauviller, courtesy France Pittoresque, used with permission.

He read, translated and transcribed the journal of Captain Edwardson of the *Snapper*, which recorded an 18 month voyage in and around the South Island's Foveaux Strait in 1822-1823, and he interviewed the 'Pākehā Māori' James Caddell and his wife Tokitoki who were visiting Sydney for a second time (they had first visited with Edwardson in 1823, returning

²¹ Leslie R. Marchant, 'Blosseville, Jules Poret de (1802–1833)', Australian Dictionary of Biography, National Centre of Biography, Australian National University, <http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/blosseville-jules-poret-de-1799/text2041>, accessed 1 February 2013.

with John Kent in the *Mermaid* in 1824).²² As well as the Caddells, de Blosseville talked to every sealer, whaler and ship's captain that he could find with experience in New Zealand,²³ adding impressions of and interviews with Māori of the Hokianga to his research, supporting his ideas with sketches and plans.

His accumulated knowledge was distilled into a report, *Essai sur les mœurs et les coutumes des habitants de la partie méridionale de Tavai-Poénammou*, which was sent to Paris and added to the encyclopaedic, multi-volumed *Nouvelles Annales Des Voyages de la Géographie et de L'Histoire*. de Blosseville's essay reveals him to be a remarkably thorough researcher and predates the ethnographic work of other luminaries like Smith and Best by several decades.

A comment in his *Tavai-Poénammou* essay about the resources of the South raises an intriguing historical conundrum:

Fine trees, useful for all maritime purposes, flax in abundance and numerous seals whose furs are very valuable—these are the resources that *Tavai-Poénammou* has to offer ... If some day these lands are colonised by Europeans, the South Island will only be a branch of the North, unless some valuable mines concealed in its ranges and already talked of by the natives give the island an importance later on, which it is at present impossible to foresee.²⁴

Is the reference to 'some valuable mines concealed in its ranges and already talked of by the natives' (originally, 'des mines précieuses, recelées dans ses montagnes et devinées déjà par les naturalistes'²⁵) the first hint by South Island Māori that there is gold to be found in the mountainous interior? If so - and it must be noted that this pre-dates Te Pouho's Ngāti Tama tauā from Wakapuaka to Tūtūrau which resulted in nearly all Central Otago-resident Māori being killed or driven off²⁶ - then clearly Māori recognised that the gold they had seen in the interior had value to Pākehā, knew that it was there in abundance, and had talked of this to someone, somewhere.

²² John Hall-Jones. 'Caddell, James - Caddell, James', from the Dictionary of New Zealand Biography. Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand, updated 30-Oct-2012; URL: <http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/biographies/1c1/caddell-james>, accessed 1 February 2013.

²³ R. McNab, *Murihiku: A History of the South Island of New Zealand and the Islands Adjacent and Lying to the South, from 1642 to 1835*, (Invercargill, William Smith, 1907), p. 306.

²⁴ Translation by R. McNab, *Murihiku*, p. 227.

²⁵ From M. Jules Blosseville, 'Mémoire Géographique sur La Nouvelle-Zélande', in *Nouvelles Annales Des Voyages de la Géographie et de L'Histoire*, Publiées par MM. J.B. Eyriès et Malte-Brun Paris 1826, Tome XXIX, p. 32.

²⁶ H.A.Mitchell, & M.J. Mitchell, *Te Tau Ihu o Te Waka: A History of Maori of Nelson and Marlborough, Vol I, The People and the Land*, (Wellington, Huia Publishers, 2004), pp. 134-137.

As time passed, Otakou (Otago) Māori passed on what they knew to someone who listened. A.H. McLintock wrote in 1966 that ‘according to one popular tradition, [Ngāi Tahu Chief] Tūhawaiki is said to have told [chief surveyor to the New Zealand Company] Tuckett of its presence as early as 1844’,²⁷ although while this is possible as an oral tradition among Māori, there is no mention of this in any of Tuckett’s diaries letters, or reports.²⁸ Others used Tūhawaiki’s knowledge, however.

‘The Old Whaler, Palmer’

The first historian to write of Māori and Otago gold was the goldfields commissioner, Vincent Pyke. Pyke, whom historian Terry Hearn says ‘enjoyed an immensely varied – if materially unrewarding – career, making a significant contribution to the formulation of mining law, the development of the mining industry, and the settlement of Central Otago’,²⁹ talked with Otago Māori who had heard the earliest stories of gold, and when he began assembling material to write a history of gold discoveries in the province, sought contributions from both them and early pākehā settlers.

Pyke’s oft-quoted comment on the subject tends to form the basis of much of the analysis of Māori attitudes towards and knowledge of gold:

That the Maoris were aware of the occurrence of gold, before the arrival of European colonists, is a tolerably well established fact. When making inquiries on this subject in 1862, I was informed by Mr. Palmer, an old whaler, then resident at East Taieri, that, many years previous to the settlement of Otago, he was told by a native chief, whose name he gave as "Tuawaik," but which I suspect was really Tewaewae, that "plenty *ferro*" or yellow stone, such as that of which the watch-seals of the white men were made, and which had attracted the old chiefs attention, was to be found on the river beaches inland, and that the Matau or Molyneux River was the place where it principally occurred. ... Other Natives freely made similar statements when they observed the value that the new-comers seemed to place upon golden coins and ornaments.³⁰

²⁷ 'Early Traces', from *An Encyclopaedia of New Zealand*, edited by A. H. McLintock, originally published in 1966. Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand, updated 22-Apr-09 URL:

<http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/1966/gold-discoveries/1>, accessed 26 January 2013.

²⁸ See 'Winterbourne Family History Online' by Frenchay Village Museum website for full transcriptions of Tuckett: <http://www.frenchaymuseumarchives.co.uk/FrederickTuckettLetters.htm>, accessed 13 January 2013.

²⁹ T. J. Hearn. 'Pyke, Vincent - Pyke, Vincent', from the Dictionary of New Zealand Biography. Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand, updated 30-Oct-2012 URL:

<http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/biographies/2p33/pyke-vincent>, accessed 29 January 2013.

³⁰ V. Pyke, *History*, p. 3.

Pyke was assiduous in his pursuit of correct history, and in the course of completing research for his *Story of the Early Gold Discoveries in Otago* (serialised in the *Otago Witness* in 1886-7, then published in 1887) travelled to meet miners in their homes, such as Hakaria Haeroa³¹ and solicited letters from pākehā like Palmer, John Thomson (who worked with Tokomairiro prospector Edward Peters³²) and even Gabriel Read. It is in Read's 1886 letter to Pyke that the epoch-marking phrase 'I saw the gold shining like the stars in Orion on a dark frosty night'³³ was first used, not, as is commonly assumed, in the first reports of the field, and it was due to Pyke's research that Read's lyricism was recorded.

Notwithstanding his thoroughness, some of the history of Otago gold-finding escaped Pyke, partly due to the timing and partly due to the geographical remoteness of where the story is located. One key story was located in Riverton.

Captain Howell and the *Amazon* at the California Gold Fields

The first published account of Captain Howell's voyage to California appears in an article in Wellington's *Evening Post* in 1937, written to commemorate the centenary of settlement at Riverton. This details how in 1849, whaling ship captain (and founder of Riverton) John Howell built the *Amazon*, a new 130 ton schooner and launched it with a crew of his Māori in-laws and a few Europeans. On his first voyage, Howell was engaged to take French immigrants unhappily resident at Akaroa (and who sought a French-governed home in the Pacific) to Tahiti. When he arrived there, he found that Tahiti

... was buzzing with news. The discovery of gold in California was the one topic. Vessels were badly wanted to take prospectors to the new El Dorado. Captain Howell would have preferred to go back to New Zealand. But the Maoris wanted to see more of the world—and particularly to see more of this gold they heard so much about. They had their way, and with would-be gold-seekers as passengers to pay for the cruise, and a crew eager to see what California was like, made the trip in good time. The Maoris and the two or three white men, including Captain Howell who comprised the crew of the *Amazon* took a hand at this digging for gold. Materially they prospered, but it was not a happy prosperity. The Californian fields had far more than the usual goldfields' share of ruffians from every quarter of the world. And the Maoris seemed easy game. A white man, one of the mates

³¹ Vincent Pyke, *The Story of the Early Gold Discoveries in Otago*, Ch.XII, *Otago Witness*, 21 January 1887, p. 14.

³² V. Pyke, *History*, p. 95,

³³ V. Pyke, *History*, p. 127.

on the ship, was killed defending the gold the party had won; there was a prospect of further trouble, and the whole party decided that New Zealand was much more peaceful and desirable. In any case, the Maoris were disappointed with gold; Captain Howell had been struck dumb when, after the party had found its first valuable strike of gold, some of the Maoris said that it was a waste of time coming so many miles for the stuff. They had it in New Zealand. Later events proved how right they were, too.

But when the party returned to New Zealand the Maoris would not take Captain Howell to areas where they said gold might be. Perhaps their experience of California made them doubtful of the wisdom of exploiting New Zealand's gold deposits.... [John Howell] in later years told the joke against himself that he took a party of Maoris thousands of miles to find gold when the same stuff existed, and they knew existed, in the district from which he set out.³⁴

The harbour records around Australasia reveals that in July, 1848 the *Amazon* arrived in Sydney 'from the whaling grounds'³⁵ and departed for New Zealand, making coastal runs and small trips to the South Pacific³⁶, with nothing recorded in 1849 until its arrival in Otago harbour in December, giving the possible dates for the Californian adventure. The narrative is repeated (and possibly provided the source) in J.H.M. Salmon's authoritative *A History of Gold Mining in New Zealand*³⁷ but does not feature in any other goldfields historiography.³⁸

Howell's great-granddaughter Eva Wilson assembled the collective oral histories of her family to write *Hākoro Ki Te Iwi – The Story of Captain Howell and His Family* in 1975.³⁹ Wilson describes Howell and his crew responding to pressure from local European settlers to seek their fortune on the goldfields of California, agreeing to transport the would-be miners, conditional on securing 30 passengers willing to pay £20 each.⁴⁰ Advertisements appeared in the *Otago News* in weekly editions from January 5, 1850 to mid-February. Additionally, Wilson's grandfather described how ancient superstitions about a terrifying 'lost tribe' of 'Red-headed Hawaiis' dwelling in what is now Central Otago, may have played

³⁴ 'Maori Miners Amazing Expedition Voyage to California in Search of Gold', Written for The Post by "Mararoa", *Evening Post*, 18 December 1937, p. 10.

³⁵ 'Shipping List', *Daily Southern Cross*, 22 July 1848, p. 2.

³⁶ E.g., 'Shipping Intelligence', *Nelson Examiner and New Zealand Chronicle*, 25 December 1848, p. 167 and others.

³⁷ J.H.M. Salmon, *A History of Gold-Mining in New Zealand*, (Wellington, Government Printer, 1963), p. 46.

³⁸ Strangely, C. Bateson makes no mention of Howell or the *Amazon* in *Gold Fleet for California – Forty Niners from Australia and New Zealand* (Michigan, Michigan UP, 1964). and D. Blethen Adams Levy of California's Maritime Heritage Project has no record of the *Amazon* landing at San Francisco, California, <http://www.maritimeheritage.org/> accessed 14 February 2013).

³⁹ Eva Wilson, *Hakoro Ki Te Iwi – The Story of Captain Howell and His Family*, (Orepuki, Eva Wilson, 1976), pp. 26-27.

⁴⁰ This is expensive; according to Dr Hocken, in 1849 the annual wage for a semi-skilled labourer was around £47: T.M.Hocken, *Contributions to the Early History of New Zealand (Settlement of Otago)*, (London, Sampson and Low, Marston and Company, 1898), p. 299.

a part in the reluctance of the Māori miners to reveal the location of the gold⁴¹ on their return, rather than a reaction to the events in California.⁴²

Howell's Māori-crewed *Amazon's* excursion to California reinforces the assertion that Māori were aware of gold and that prior to the arrival of British settlers they saw no value in it. Notwithstanding the silence of the *Amazon's* Māori crew, as time and Otago settlement progressed, hints of a future golden harvest proliferated and Māori knowledge of gold would be the spark to the coming societal conflagration that was the gold rush.

Thomas Archibald's Beaumont Expedition

With the knowledge of the rush to California and the rushes to New South Wales and Victoria filling columns of the local newspapers, comment from Otago Māori that the local rivers had gold in them proved too much to ignore.

Expeditions were organized. The first is anchored by Māori narratives about gold in the interior and was launched in 1852. The expedition escaped the notice of contemporary newspapers, but in 1862 the *Otago Daily Times* printed Vincent Pyke's précis history of gold discoveries in Otago, which began with an introduction discussing Māori knowledge of gold in the Clutha area quoted above. It then included a letter from a Pomahaka resident discussing the first prospecting efforts:

One party of settlers made an effort to verify these statements in 1852, and [Mr. Thomas Archibald] started up the Molyneux to attempt the discovery of El Dorado.... Raki Raki, had resided on the Wakatipu Lake, but had left many years ago.... He told me he once picked up a piece of "simon" (gold) about the size of a small potato on the banks of the Molyneux, but did not know its value, and he threw it into the river. They told us they had seen the small "simon" on the sides of the river, where their canoes had been lying.

⁴¹ E. Wilson, *Hakoro*, pp. 26-27.

⁴² Both narratives cannot be correct. According to the advertisement placed by the 'party of gentlemen' who were chartering the *Amazon*, the schooner had just returned from California (probably under the circumstances outlined in the *Post* article), and would make a return sailing if 'a few more respectable individuals' were added to the group. The evidence would suggest that the chartered sailing did not take place, and only the first expedition occurred. Given the *Amazon's* sailing schedule in 1850, the charter must have failed. The advertisement for passengers was run in the *Otago News* every week from January 5 to February 9 1850, and allowing for her return from Riverton means they could not have left before mid-February. The journey each way averaged around 85 days (D. Blethen Adams Levy, California, The Maritime Heritage Project, <http://www.maritimeheritage.org/PassLists/miningAustralia.html> accessed February 14, 2013.) so a return journey must therefore have at least 175 days, however, Hobart's *Colonial Times* has the *Amazon* arriving in Hobart on July 26 1850 to land a cargo of 70 seal skins and 20 tons of sperm oil (Shipping, *Colonial Times* (Hobart), 26 July, p. 2). Howell cannot have sailed for California on charter, and resumed normal trading duties, carting whale oil shipments from Riverton and the Otago Coast to New South Wales.

On seeing a small sample of gold ... the natives were the more convinced we should find it in the sands of the Molyneux.

As some of us were on the eve of starting for Australia, we thought we would give the river a trial first, more especially as we had the services of a Californian miner, who had left a whaling vessel in the Bay. We made a party of five, and started up the river in March, 1852, in a whale boat which I brought from Dunedin. We prospected the bars and the banks of the river, as far as a creek, now named the Beaumont. As none of us knew anything about gold-seeking except the American, and getting nothing more than the color, we resolved to return, after having nearly a three weeks' cruise.⁴³

After its feature in the *Otago Daily Times*, this became part of the official record in Pyke's *Report on the Goldfields of Otago* to the House of Representatives' 1863 session.⁴⁴ It was reproduced in Pyke's *Otago Witness* retrospective history in 1886 (which formed the basis of his 1887 book, *History of the Early Gold Discoveries in Otago*) and in the *Otago Daily Times* 'Otago Jubilee Edition' in March 1898. For 40 years the story remained unchallenged, but in the 'Jubilee Supplement' which appeared in the following week's *Witness*, a letter serious doubt on its veracity:

Mr James Crane, of Waiholo, writes as follows: – "I see from your Jubilee issue you state that Thomas Archibald was the first to go up the Molyneux to look for gold. This is quite incorrect.... In 1851, while I was at Henley, some natives came there from the Molyneux. All the talk at that time was about the finding of gold in Australia. As we were talking about it, one of the natives, by name Raki-raki, told us that when towing his canoe up the Matau, near Te Houka Beach, he picked up a stone the colour of a Pakeha sovereign. He carried it in his hand for a while, and then threw it in the canoe to the children. That story roused us somewhat, so we made up our minds to go and look for ourselves. William Palmer, James Whybrow, John Bennett, Teraki and Tuera (2 natives), and myself, went to the Molyneux, and got Mr Redpath's boat, and went as far as the, Pomahaka Falls, where natives were eeling, but came back without doing anything. In the beginning of the following year (1852) John Bennet and myself were shearing Mr Fuller's sheep, and while there an American whaler put into the bay. A few of the hands ran away, and one of them told us he had just come from California and knew all about gold digging, so we got him to stop until we finished the sheep. It was agreed with Mr Thomas Archibald, as he wanted to go and see the country, that he should take his boat. We started and got as far as the mouth of the Tuapeka. It there appeared that Mr Archibald did not want to look for gold; what he wanted was to find the burning plain [a lignite area in the Pomahaka]. When California Sam, as we called him, said that we would go inland next morning as it resembled California, and

⁴³ Editorial, *Otago Daily Times*, 27 December 1862, p. 4.

⁴⁴ Report to Both Houses of the General Assembly, *Report on the Otago Gold Fields*, Appendix to the Journals of the House of Representatives, 1863 Session I, D-06.

prospect for gold, Mr Archibald told us if we would not go with him he would take the boat home.... Home he would go, and we could not stop him, as the boat and most of the provisions belonged to him, and that we had to go. Mr Archibald would not have known anything about the native finding the stone if we had not told him. Another thing, he never saw Thuawaiki [sic], for he was drowned before he came out. ... I must blame Mr Archibald us not finding the gold at that time, as Sam had made a cradle while we were finishing the sheep, so it looked as if he knew something about getting gold. He cried when leaving us. This is the true story. I also see by the paper that Mr Archibald is made to say that he and party were three weeks away, and only got a few specks. We were only three days away – two going up and one coming back. We got no specks for the reason that we never tried to get any, and we had no time or chance to do so.⁴⁵

Crane's version of Archibald's expedition changes it from the ineptitude with which Pyke, Reed, and McLintock characterise this expedition,⁴⁶ to an episode of poor planning and divided intent within the group. Crane's group included James Whybrow, one of the first settlers at Toi-Tois (sometimes written Toe-Toes) on the Maitara coast, who retired from whaling⁴⁷ to live beside Sam Perkins - who would become famous in 1861 for leading the 'Blue Mountain Duffer Rush' from Gabriel's Gully⁴⁸ - and other former whalers. These men lived with their Māori wives, scratching a living as subsistence farmers and working as labourers for nearby run-holders.⁴⁹ Palmer had set up and managed the Tautuku whaling station in 1839⁵⁰ and is almost certainly the 'old whaler' who wrote to Pyke in 1862 and is quoted in *The Story of the Early Gold Discoveries in Otago*.⁵¹ He was briefly notorious for being the owner of the preserved head of Te Pūoho (killed at the battle of Tūtūrau), before he sold it to an antiquities collector in Sydney.⁵² Teraki had guided Otago Company Surveyor Frederick Tuckett in 1844,⁵³ while John Bennett achieved a small notoriety for finding 1 dwt

⁴⁵ Otago Settlement Jubilee Supplementary Number 1898, *Otago Witness*, 31 March 1898, Supplement, p. 25.

⁴⁶ A.H. McLintock, *The History of Otago* (Dunedin, Otago Centennial Historical Publications, 1949), pp. 440-441; A. H. Reed, *The story of Otago*, (Wellington, Reed, 1947), pp. 228 – 229.

⁴⁷ Viator, 'Reminiscences of the Fifties', *Otago Witness*, 12 January 1893, p. 33.

⁴⁸ See G. McLean, *Sam's Grief* (Dunedin, Otago Heritage Books, 1989), pp. 5-7.

⁴⁹ McLean, *Sam*, p. 5.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*

⁵¹ 'The Story of the Early Gold Discoveries in Otago, Chapter I', *Otago Witness*, 5 November 1886, p. 14; Pyke, *History*, p. 3.

⁵² Beattie 'Notebook 582 E/11', pp. 26-28, quoted in Mitchell, & Mitchell, *Te Tau Ihu o Te Waka* p. 137.

⁵³ F. Tuckett, Entry dated Saturday & Sunday May 4 & 5th, 1844, The Survey of Otago, the future site of Dunedin, Part of Frederick Tuckett's Diary, From March 28th to June 1st 1844, Diary transcription courtesy of Winterbourne Family History Online by Frenchay Village Museum website: <http://www.frenchaymuseumarchives.co.uk/FrederickTuckettLetters.htm>, accessed January 13 2013.

of gold in the Maitara in 1855 and was the first to write to the *Otago Colonist* to request that a reward be offered for finding a payable goldfield.⁵⁴

Common to both narratives is the Ngāti Māmoe chief, Raki Raki. Whereas A.H. McLintock noted a tradition that speculated that Tūhawaiki told Tuckett about gold, Raki Raki's involvement in early surveys is certain. He was employed by J.W. Barnicoat and Tuckett as their 'native guide' in their survey work, and his sketch of the lakes of Central Otago appears in Barnicoat's journal of 1843-1844.⁵⁵ This would suggest that if anyone was advising Tuckett of gold in the interior, it was probably Raki Raki, who was Waitaha, Kāti Māmoe and Kāti Tahu, and given that his name kept cropping up in the early stories of gold, he deserves a more prominent place in the narrative than heretofore.

But some Māori, whether from Australia⁵⁶, Otago, or other parts of New Zealand, went mining. The first, hesitant 'rush' in Otago was to the Maitara River, following Surveyor Charles Ligar's 1857 disclosure that he 'found gold very generally distributed in the gravel and sand of the Maitara River at Tūtarau'.⁵⁷ Māori mined there alongside scattered local farmers, shepherds and assorted amateur miners who were attempting to work the gravels without experience or expertise.

Gold was found, and it was through the efforts of Māori miners that New Zealand's first gold export occurred in April 1857. Mr F.L. Mievill of Glenham station passed through Tūtarau on his way to Port Chalmers, where he was leaving for England. He met a group of Māori miners, who sold him a large wooden matchbox filled with a gold and sand mixture. He took this with him to England and had it made into jewellery for his wife⁵⁸. Nothing more is heard of these Tūtarau miners, but it is a reasonable suggestion to think that they might feature in the subsequent Otago goldfields narrative, especially when a real gold rush occurred in 1861.

⁵⁴ Biographical Sketches of the Colonists of the First Decade, *Otago Witness*, 17 March 1898, p. 27.

⁵⁵ Rakiraki's sketch of the great lagoons near the source off the Matou River, 1844, J.W. Barnicoat's Journal. Reference HM 882, 1844, Hocken Library.

⁵⁶ See Appendix 1 for a full discussion of Australian mining experiences by Māori.

⁵⁷ 'Provincial Council', *Otago Witness*, 6 December 1856, p. 3.

⁵⁸ 'The Gold Dredging Industry', *Otago Witness*, 31 August 1899, p. 18.

Central Otago Miners: Tuapeka

When the rush to Gabriel's Gully broke out in 1861, the editor of the *Otago Colonist* said 'a considerable number of Maories have already gone'.⁵⁹ An early arrival from Australia wrote to a friend in Bendigo (VIC) that 'Maories have brought down several nuggets from the high ranges, where a good lot of them are dwelling'⁶⁰ which would indicate considerable prospecting activity on their part. This also indicates that Māori miners knew that there was richer ground in the interior of the province and were adept at concealing their sources. It is frustrating that records of gold purchases from these miners cannot be found, as this would quantify the wealth produced.

The Otago Correspondent to Melbourne's *Argus* wrote in one of his reports:

there is a camp of [Māori] at Gabriel's Gully.... and are uniformly well conducted. Their weak point is that they wash every bucketful of stuff they take out of the ground, and, of course, their success is consequently limited. Men and women together, there are about 50 of them. They are amenable to authority in a marked degree,... To the questions of [Tuapeka Warden Strode] they only had one reply, "Kia koi te tikanga" (Do as you please). Not so tractable have been the European miners...⁶¹

The anonymous 'Yankee Gold-Digger', who wrote the tract *Otago, or a Rush to the New Gold-fields of New Zealand* later in 1861, estimated that at least 100 of the locals at Gabriel's gully were Māori.⁶² Certainly there were enough Māori miners at the Tuapeka that one of the richest gullies in Upper Waitahuna⁶³ was named Māori Gully⁶⁴, although William Ayson, who in 1861 mined at Gabriel's Gully, commented in his *Pioneering in Otago* autobiography that 'a good many Maoris came to the Gully, but did not stay long'⁶⁵

The Māori miners at the Tuapeka have passed into history as an anonymous group, but the later narratives of the Otago rush provide names to consider.

⁵⁹ 'Latest from Tuapeka', *The Otago Colonist*, 19 July 1861, p. 3.

⁶⁰ 'The Rush to New Zealand', *Bendigo Advertiser*, 30 September 1861, p. 3.

⁶¹ Mr Wheeler, 'The New Zealand Goldfields' No.IV., *The Argus* Melbourne, 14 October 1861, p. 5.

⁶² '[A Yankee Gold-Digger], Otago, or a Rush to the New Gold-fields of New Zealand', in *The Leisure Hour*, no. 551 (London: The Religious Tract Society, July 19, 1862), p. 461, quoted in J.M. Hutchins, *Diggers, Constables, and Bushrangers – the New Zealand Gold Rushes As a Frontier Experience, 1852 – 1876*, (Lakewood, Avroooman-Apfelwald Press, 2010), p. 53.

⁶³ 'News of the Week', *Otago Witness*, 15 August 1863, p. 5.

⁶⁴ 'Waitahuna', *Otago Witness*, 28 June 1862, p. 3.

⁶⁵ W. Ayson, *Pioneering in Otago*, (Dunedin, Reed, 1937), p. 58.

Māori Jack

The first Māori miner to achieve fame was initially renowned for his bravery. After working at Hamilton's Sheep station at Mavora Lakes (Southland) as a shearer, the prospector known as 'Māori Jack' headed north⁶⁶. In 1861 he arrived at the western end of Lake Wakatipu with another Māori called Bill Leonard on Rees' whaleboat, which was bringing up supplies for Alfred Duncan and the other two shepherds tending a flock there.⁶⁷ According to William Rees' journal, Jack and Bill came 'with the intention of making their way to the West Coast to look up some other Maoris said to be there', implying that they also sought gold⁶⁸.

They tested the Dart and Routeburn rivers, finding nothing remarkable and joined the six other Māori whom Rees had engaged as shearers, working in a temporary shearing shed built of saplings and blankets. Shearing job complete, Tewa and the seven other Māori men left Duncan and returned to the main camp at Rees' homestead, where Tewa was offered a permanent job.⁶⁹ It is clear that Jack continued prospecting for gold and at some point, found it, possibly as early as May, 1861.⁷⁰

His courage as a life-saver became the talk of New Zealand. Jack, William Rogers of Glenquoich Station and John Mitchell, a recently-hired farm cadet on William Rees' station (now Queenstown) were headed back to Roger's farm. Rogers was returning home and Mitchell went to see the country. With 'Māori Jack' at the helm of Rees' small sailboat, they set off sailing down the lake. The craft capsized in a sudden squall, Rogers was drowned, and only the herculean efforts of Jack, whose exploits included supporting the near-drowned Mitchell through the night and an all-night run back to the farmstead, saved the cadet from a similar fate.⁷¹ A grateful Rees worked with Otago Provincial Police Commissioner St John Branigan to organise a subscription to allow Māori Jack to purchase a dray and four oxen so Jack could go into business supplying miners on the nascent 'Wakatip' [sic] goldfield⁷² and

⁶⁶ 'Old Memories of Southland', *Southland Times*, 4 September 1889, p. 3.

⁶⁷ Duncan, A.H., *The Wakatipians or Early Days in New Zealand*, (Arrowtown, Lakes District Centennial Museum, 1969 (re-printed from the 1888 original)), p. 32.

⁶⁸ V. Pyke, *History*, p. 82.

⁶⁹ Duncan, A.H., *The Wakatipians* p. 32.

⁷⁰ Vincent Pyke, Secretary of Goldfields, 'Report on the Gold Fields of Otago', *Otago Daily Times*, 17 October 1863, p. 10.

⁷¹ 'Fatal Boat Accident on Lake Wakatip', *Otago Daily Times*, 28 August 1862, p. 5.

⁷² Editorial, *Otago Daily Times*, 25 September 1862, p. 4; 'The Natives', *Colonist*, 14 October 1862, p. 3; Mr Rees, *The Southland News*, 5 November, p. 3; A.H., Duncan, *The Wakatipians*, p. 41.

upon the application of Rees and Mitchell, the British Royal Humane Society awarded the society's medal to Māori Jack for his actions.⁷³

When the enormously rich Arrow goldfield was discovered, it was widely known as 'Fox's Rush', after the larger-than life veteran of the rushes to California and Victoria, William Fox.⁷⁴ Bill Fox, who had the sobriquet 'the redoubtable' bestowed on him by early newspapermen⁷⁵ and a reputation for incredible luck conferred by the massed miners of the Dunstan⁷⁶, was one of the key personalities that bestrides the narratives of the early Otago rushes, and given his renown as an enforcer of rules in the early rush to the Arrow and his ebullient manner, the title of discoverer seemed to fit him. But Vincent Pyke, who had talked to Jack at length when he provided guiding services to the Pyke's Provincial Government-funded expedition over the Haast Pass in late 1865⁷⁷, was unequivocal about who first found gold at the Arrow River:

The association of Fox's name with this rush has caused him to be generally regarded as the discoverer of the Arrow Gold-field...such was not the case... McGregor... commenced mining operations on the 4th October, and five days later Fox traced him to the spot.... The real discoverer was the well known Maori Jack, who obtained a fine sample of gold from the same Stream in May, 1861.⁷⁸

One of Māori Jack's workmates was Mr Thomas Wilson, who with Jack and a few other employees visited the Shotover River one Sunday and found fine gold about a quarter of a mile above the modern day bridge. When Wilson wrote his recollections 50 years later, he recalled Rees' anger when they showed him the gold and he apparently told them 'that a gold diggings would ruin his partner and himself'.⁷⁹ In August 1862, Jack turned up at Rees' station door bearing a shovel of wash from the Arrow River, in which gold could be clearly seen.⁸⁰ Again, Rees was none too pleased. As he later wrote to Pyke, 'I then felt certain (for I

⁷³ Editorial, *Otago Daily Times*, 6 October 1863, p. 4. The medal is now on display at the Lakes District Museum, Arrowtown.

⁷⁴ T. J. Hearn. 'Fox, William - Fox, William', from the Dictionary of New Zealand Biography. Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand, updated 30-Oct-2012 URL: <http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/biographies/1f16/fox-william>, accessed 19 January 2013.

⁷⁵ E.g., 'The West Canterbury Goldfields', *Lyttelton Times*, 16 February 1866, p. 3.

⁷⁶ T. J. Hearn. 'Fox, William'.

⁷⁷ Editorial, *Otago Daily Times*, 7 September 1865, p. 4; 'Dunstan', 30 October 1865, p. 5; 'Lake Wanaka to the West Coast. Mr Pyke's Report', *Otago Witness*, 4 November 1865, p. 7.

⁷⁸ Vincent Pyke, Secretary of Goldfields, 'Report on the Goldfields of Otago', *Otago Daily Times*, 17 October 1863, p. 10.

⁷⁹ Otago Settlement Jubilee Supplementary Number 1898, *Otago Witness*, 31 March 1898, Supplement, p. 25.

⁸⁰ F. MacKenzie, *The Sparkling Waters of the Whakatipua*, (Dunedin, Reed, 1948), p. 78.

had been at the Turon, N. S. W., in 1852) that it was only a question of a few months before I should be surrounded with diggers'.⁸¹

Māori Jack's real name is not agreed upon. Pyke insisted that Māori Jack was from Thames, whose real name was Hatini Waiti, or Anthony White⁸², while Alfred Duncan, who knew and worked with Jack, insists that he was 'Jack Tewa' and proffers as proof the name Mitchell inscribed on the watch he awarded Jack to recognise his bravery.⁸³ Philip Ross May calls him Hai Monare Weti in his *West Coast* history.⁸⁴ Whatever his name, Māori Jack is agreed by most to be the original prospector of much of what became the Lakes District Goldfield, centred on Queenstown.

The sequence of events surrounding the Arrow field is a little confused, but it seems Māori Jack showed the gold he was finding to his workmates, one of whom wrote about this to a friend, the Taieri Ferry lessee, John MacGregor.⁸⁵ MacGregor then told his brother-in-law Thomas Low, who was living with his brother on Galloway Station, Manuherikia. McGregor and Low, together with Peter Stuart and James and William Christie from the Taieri, bypassed the just-declared Dunstan rush to travel further inland, arriving at the Lakes District via the Cardrona River and Kawarau Gorge, where they met and talked to Alfred Duncan, who was unable to provide them with provisions. Splitting up, McGregor and Low headed to the Arrow while the rest went to Rees' Camp for food. Alone of the commentators, Low denies any prospecting achievement by Māori Jack, perhaps forgetting that the initial impetus for the expedition was the letter McGregor had received advising of the Jack's scattered finds.⁸⁶

William Grummitt, who had been District Coroner in goldfields centres from Naseby to Oamaru⁸⁷ and had worked for the Bank of New Zealand,⁸⁸ published a letter written to him from 'the Redoubtable' William Fox in 1863, a missive which prompted Low's rebuttal of the accepted narrative. Fox, like Low and McGregor, also met Alfred Duncan, who not only passed on the news of Jack's gold finds, but introduced Fox to Māori Jack. Jack accompanied Fox to Rees' station for extra provisions and who told him where and when he had found gold. Fox had absolutely no doubt that the credit for the first to discover gold in the Arrow

⁸¹ Pyke, *History*, p. 82.

⁸² Death of Mr Rees', *Otago Daily Times*, 3 November 1898, p. 4.

⁸³ A.H. Duncan, *The Wakatipians*, p. 41.

⁸⁴ May, Philip Ross, *The West Coast Gold Rushes*, (Christchurch, Pegasus Press, 1962), p. 140.

⁸⁵ 'Passing Notes', *Otago Witness*, 6 April 1888, p. 21.

⁸⁶ Thomas Low, Correspondence, *Otago Daily Times*, 26 January 1899, p. 3.

⁸⁷ District Coroner, Oamaru, 'Accidents and Fatalities', *Star*, 28 July 1898, p. 3.

⁸⁸ 'The Kyeburn Murder', *Otago Daily Times*, 24 September 1880, p. 3.

and Lakes District area was Māori Jack,⁸⁹ but that did not stop Fox seeking a reward for its discovery later⁹⁰ (which was unsuccessful).

‘Māori Jack’, who after his bravery award was referred to as ‘the well-known’, fades in and out of the gold narrative after this, although he is mentioned heading off to Garston on a prospecting trip in January 1863⁹¹ and headlines describe his assistance of Vincent Pyke on his epic journey to the West Coast via the Haast Pass⁹². In 1865 he accepted a commission to guide 40 miners from the Dunstan field across Haast Pass to the new West Coast fields⁹³, a feat he appears to have completed several times. Later in 1865, Alfred Duncan met him in Queenstown, where Jack had just deposited £400 as his share from a claim in the Shotover. Jack told Duncan that now he had the means, he wished to travel to England to be introduced to ‘Queen Wicatoria’ and pleaded with his old friend to accompany him to make the necessary introductions at court. Duncan demurred and said it was the last time he saw ‘that good-hearted giant, Māori Jack’.⁹⁴ In 1867 Jack found a pass to the Coast which was more northerly than the Haast and which now bears the name ‘Māori Pass’ after him.⁹⁵ It was briefly suggested to be more navigable than the Haast Pass, but was later found too difficult for carts or wagons.⁹⁶

After this, ‘Māori Jack’ disappears from the historic record. Other ‘Māori Jacks’ appeared, but none of these were Jack Tewa, and some were not even Māori. On the West Coast, there were several: in 1866, ‘John Reid, alias Maori Jack’ was ‘a well-known most notorious scoundrel, a native of America, aged 27 years, of low build and very dark complexion... an old sailor... [who] was sentenced to two years' imprisonment, with hard labour, for garrotting’;⁹⁷ another was a horse thief, Mr B. Davis⁹⁸ and in Otago an incorrigible called James Anderson who earned convictions as a sheep stealer⁹⁹ and for hotel robbery¹⁰⁰ was also known as Māori Jack. John Bright, the gold prospector who in 1880 found the Coronerville field between Nelson and Westport was described as ‘better known as “Maori

⁸⁹ W. Grummitt, Correspondence, *Otago Daily Times*, 17 November 1898, p. 2.

⁹⁰ Thomas Low, Correspondence, *Otago Daily Times*, 26 January 1899, p. 3; T. J. Hearn. ‘Fox, William’.

⁹¹ ‘The Goldfields’, *Otago Daily Times*, 17 January 1863, p. 5.

⁹² ‘Lake Wanaka to the West Coast. Mr Pyke’s Report’, *Otago Witness*, 4 November 1865, p. 7.

⁹³ ‘Facts and Scraps’, *Nelson Examiner and New Zealand Chronicle*, 23 November 1865, p. 3.

⁹⁴ A.H. Duncan, *The Wakatipians*, p. 59.

⁹⁵ I. Roxburgh, *Wanaka Story*, (Dunedin, Otago Centennial Historical Publications, 1957), p. 18

⁹⁶ ‘Christchurch’, *North Otago Times*, 30 April 1867, p. 2.

⁹⁷ Editorial, *West Coast Times*, 10 December 1866, p. 2

⁹⁸ ‘Local and General News’, *Wellington Independent*, 21 March 1867, p. 3.

⁹⁹ Editorial, *Otago Daily Times*, 19 September 1870, p. 2.

¹⁰⁰ Editorial, *Otago Daily Times*, 19 May 1874, p. 2.

Jack”¹⁰¹ and an Australian Māori Jack – who unlike the West Coast men, *was* Māori – is quoted among the early miners at the Gympie diggings, one ‘Emmanuel Thompson, better known as Maori Jack, a nephew of the celebrated Wiremu Kingi.’¹⁰²

Māori Jack deserves his place in the history of the goldfields of Otago’s interior, both for his prospecting work and for his bravery in saving another man’s life. But he was not the only Māori mining in the Lakes District.

Conflict on the Shotover

In early 1863, Māori miners were at the Lakes District goldfield in some numbers. They became the team to beat in goldfields leisure pursuits. Stories emerged of good-natured sports competition ‘between Britons and Maories’¹⁰³ held at Queenstown on the weekends.¹⁰⁴ Competitions involved Cumberland wrestling¹⁰⁵, a six mile rowing match in whaleboats, (comfortably won by the Māori crew, with upwards of £500 changing hands on the event) and a 200 yard foot-race between Byers ‘the Māori’ and Telford, a sprint specialist.¹⁰⁶ The local correspondent of the Otago Daily Times commented ‘Enormous sums changed hands on the different events; and it says much for the general prosperity of the district that seedy-looking diggers had such warm pockets and hearts that they could pay over £200 or £300 with a smile, and stand a “champagne shout” into the bargain’.¹⁰⁷

In the very earliest days of the goldfield, Māori miners made a significant find in the Rees River at the western end of Lake Wakatipu. On February 5th, 1863, a boatman returned from a supply trip to the group and breathlessly reported that the ‘Maories were getting gold by the tin dishful’.¹⁰⁸ This immediately sparked a rush, which was problematic, since the only means of getting to the new ground was by boat. Subsequent reports said ‘brilliant glowing accounts are coming in ... the report of the discovery of a pound and a-half weight nugget is spoken of I can vouch for numerous nuggets from one to ten ounces each’.¹⁰⁹ A fortnight

¹⁰¹ ‘A New Rush’, *Evening Post*, 16 February 1880, p. 3

¹⁰² ‘The Gympie Diggings’ (from the *Gympie Times*), *West Coast Times*, 9 June 1869, p. 3.

¹⁰³ ‘The Gold Fields’, *Otago Daily Times*, 18 April 1863, p. 5.

¹⁰⁴ ‘The Gold Fields’, *Otago Daily Times*, 18 April 1863, p. 5b.

¹⁰⁵ ‘The Lake Country’, *Otago Daily Times*, 2 April 1863, p. 5.

¹⁰⁶ ‘The Lake Country’, *Otago Daily Times*, 27 March 1863, p. 5.

¹⁰⁷ ‘The Gold Fields’, *Otago Daily Time*, 18 April 1863, p. 5.

¹⁰⁸ ‘The Lake Country’, *Otago Daily Times*, 5 February 1863, p. 4.

¹⁰⁹ ‘The Lake Country’, *Otago Daily Times*, 6 April 1863, p. 5.

later the same writer reported that ‘men were at the time simply “nuggeting out” with knives, very heavy gold being found under large stones and in crevices’.¹¹⁰

It was therefore, given the bonhomie of the social concourse of sports events of the month before, that the same correspondent reported a story of potential conflict, writing with alarm that he had heard news from Rees's River: ‘a conflict is said to have taken place between the Europeans and Maories. It requires confirmation’.¹¹¹ Quite what happened, who were the protagonists, who won and what then resulted is not known, because there is nothing in the Warden's Court records and no subsequent reports in the newspapers. It may be surmised that one of the reasons this was never elaborated on was because another conflict happened at around the same time, which has entered the realms of goldfields legend. It is found in the summary report collated for transmission to Melbourne in February 1863:

Seven of the [Māori] men held an amalgamated claim some distance up the [Shotover] river, and it is an extremely valuable one. They were jumped by the “professionals” upon the grounds that a “white man” should be entitled to a claim before any other color. The jumpers proceeded to throw in their own tools into the claim, and to throw out those of Maories. After some altercation the latter withdrew and went up to their tents. The jumpers as may be supposed were in high glee at their easy victory and had already commenced trying the value of their newly obtained claim. In the height of their exhilaration and noisy congratulations, they saw the seven Maories returning in single file, each with a tomahawk in his belt. The Maories proceeded very deliberately to collect their tools, replace them in the claim, take out their tomahawks and prepare for work. The intruders did not relish this kind of work and upon second considerations thought discretion the better part of valor. They withdrew, stating that they should bring the Commissioner. It is needless to add that they did not upon further consideration, in this instance, consult that gentleman.¹¹²

This narrative, which is repeated in nearly every local history of the Otago gold rushes, sometimes with embroidery which adds traditional weapons, a haka, actual violence and even death, was never referred to in the contemporary newspapers again. It is an example of restraint by Māori which was at variance with their characterisation in the popular press around the wars in the north. It is also a commentary on might versus order, in the form of the

¹¹⁰ ‘The Gold Fields’, *Otago Daily Times*, 18 April 1863, p. 5.

¹¹¹ ‘Narrative of Current Events for Transmission to Melbourne’, *Otago Daily Times*, 7 February 1863, p. 5.

¹¹² Ibid.

local goldfields warden, who was not called on to add his authority to the situation.¹¹³ There is a degree of moralising in the tale which suggests that the writer felt that (in his view) the simplistic, Māori had been wronged and did well in righting this without recourse to violence.

The narrative shows that Māori were actively mining, utilising the regulations to pursue amalgamated claims on rich ground. What is not so widely known is how Māori could be the prospectors finding the very richest areas in Central Otago.

‘The Maories’ of Māori Point

Māori Point, in the Upper Shotover Valley in the Lakes District is first featured in a small advertisement placed in April, 1863¹¹⁴. In the same month, it was disclosed that as a sign of the increasingly favourable prospects of the Shotover goldfield, a party of three Welsh miners bought a 20 feet by 40 feet area of stream bed At Māori Point from its Māori owners for £800.¹¹⁵ This was the first of many articles about the richness of the Shotover River at Māori Point, including a party of six miners celebrating a haul of 60 pounds of gold per man, gained in just six weeks¹¹⁶ and a second group that netted £20,000 out of a beach claim, a little upstream from the Point. Vincent Pyke first visited Māori Point to settle

a complicated dispute, originating in the institution, by the Warden, of imaginary boundaries in the flowing water. In the course of the hearing before Mr. Nugent Wood and myself, a Māori waded into the river up to his armpits, and plunging a shovel into the rapid current, he succeeded after a few failures in bringing up a fine show of heavy gold on that implement.¹¹⁷

It was not until October that the rest of Otago learned the origin of the name ‘Māori Point’. Vincent Pyke’s *Report on the Goldfields of Otago*, written for the Secretary of the Goldfields, Wellington, was published in the *Otago Daily Times*:

Higher up the Shotover numerous rich gullies were discovered, principally on the western watershed; and the beaches of the river itself were

¹¹³ Incident reported as per newspaper account: Salmon, *History*, p. 91; H. A. Glasson, *The Golden Cobweb – A Saga of the Otago Goldfields, 1861 – 64*, (Dunedin, Otago Daily Times, 1957), pp. 68 – 69; incident has a haka added: R. Gilkison, *Early Days in Central Otago*, (Dunedin, Otago Daily Times, 1930), p. 45; incident has additional weapons and a haka added: D.A. Knudson, *The Story of Wakatipu*, (Christchurch, Whitcombe and Tombs, 1968), p. 80; Hutchins, *Diggers*, p. 72; incident has additional weapons, a haka, violence and ‘one at least was killed’ added, MacKenzie, *Sparkling Waters*, p. 84.

¹¹⁴ Advertisements, *Otago Daily Times*, 23 April 1863, p. 3.

¹¹⁵ ‘Otago, Latest’, *Taranaki Herald*, 25 April 1863, p. 3.

¹¹⁶ ‘Our Lake Correspondent’, *Otago Daily Times*, 30 April 1863, p. 4.

¹¹⁷ Pyke, *History*, p. 88.

successfully prospected for a distance of more than 30 miles, the miners crossing the adjacent ranges, and descending to the stream wherever it was found practicable to do so. One of these beaches is known by the appropriate name of “Maori Point”, owing to its discovery by two natives of the North Island, Dan Ellison, a half-caste, and Zachariah Haerora, a full Maori. As these men were travelling along the eastern hank of the river they found some Europeans working with great success in a secluded gorge. On the opposite shore was a beach of unusually promising appearance, occupying a bend of the stream, over which the rocky cliffs rose perpendicularly to the height of more than 500 feet. Tempting as this spot was to the practised eyes of the miners, none of them would venture to breast the impetuous torrent. The Maoris, however, boldly plunged into the river, and succeeded in reaching the western bank; but a dog which followed them was carried away by the current, and drifted down to a rocky point, where it remained. Dan went to its assistance and observing some particles of gold in the crevices of the rocks, he commenced to search the sandy beach beneath, from which, with the aid of Zachariah, he gathered twenty five pounds weight (300 oz.) of the precious metal before night-fall. A systematic investigation of the locality ensued, and resulted in the discovery of valuable and extensive auriferous deposits.¹¹⁸

This report was reprinted in its entirety for the Appendices to the Journals of the House of Representatives, dated seventh of November, 1863.¹¹⁹ In 1886, Pyke revealed that his source for the narrative was ‘Hakaria’ (presumably Pyke altered the title after he had met him and learned his preferred name) Haeroa himself. When the partners sold out to the Welsh syndicate, Haeroa returned to the Otago Heads, which was where Pyke found him in September, 1863:

I had heard the story when on a visit to the district in the winter season of 1863 and on my return to Dunedin, I persuaded the Harbour Master Captain Thomson to take me in his boat to the Maori Kaik at the Heads, where we found Hakaria. His narrative was interpreted by Mr Rehmenschnieder¹²⁰ [sic] and recorded at the time in my official report.¹²¹

I have not succeeded in finding out what happened to Hakaria Haeroa after Pyke met with him, but given that he was living back with his family in the Otakou kaik in late 1863, presumably he retired there to farm or grow crops like Ellison did.

¹¹⁸ Vincent Pyke, Secretary of Goldfields, ‘Report on the Goldfields of Otago’, *Otago Daily Times*, 17 October 1863, p. 10.

¹¹⁹ Vincent Pyke, Secretary of Goldfields, *Report on the Otago Goldfields*, Appendix to the Journals of the House of Representatives, 1863 Session I, D-06.

¹²⁰ Actually Rev Johann F. Riemenschneider (see W.A.Taylor, *Lore and History of the South Island Maori*, (Christchurch, Bascands, 1950), p. 135; T.A. Pybus, *Maori and Missionary: Early Christian Missions in the South Island of New Zealand*, (Wellington, Reed Publishing, 1954, pp. 136-141.).

¹²¹ V. Pyke, ‘The Story of the Early Gold Discoveries in Otago’, *Otago Witness*, 21 January 1887, p. 14.

More is known about Haeroa's mining partners. Raniera Tāheke Ellison, (sometimes written Erihana) was the son of Thomas Ellison and Te Ikairaua (Te Ikaraua) of Ngāti Moehau, a hapū of Te Āti Awa. He was married to Nani Weller (Hana Wera), the only child of Edward Weller, who had established the Otakou whaling station in 1831, and Nikuru, the daughter of Te Matenga Taiaroa and Hine-i-whariua of Ngāi Tahu and Ngāti Māmoe.¹²² For some time Rāniera worked in the whaling business. In *Maori and Missionary: Early Christian Missions in the South Island of New Zealand*, Thomas Pybus recounts a story where 'in the whaling days a ship was wrecked off the Otago Heads and Rāniera swam out and rescued seven or eight persons of the crew'.¹²³ According to Gilkison, after his whaling work, Ellison worked as crew on the pilot boat at Otago Heads and it was from this that he left in 1862¹²⁴ to go gold prospecting with his friends, Hakaraia and Hēnare Patukopa.¹²⁵ Ellison added to the narrative Haeroa told Pyke; in a letter to the Dunstan Jubilee celebrations in November 1912, he sent a letter to those organising the function, mentioning that 'when he rescued the dog he saw gold clinging to its coat'.¹²⁶

It seems probable that like Haeroa, Ellison returned to the kaik after the sale of the claim to the Welshmen, then went farming. Ellison developed new farmland¹²⁷ and offered one of his farms for lease as he expanded operations.¹²⁸ In 1882, possibly with the influence of Rev Riemenschneider who had served an earlier mission placement in the Taranaki¹²⁹, he became converted to the cause of the exiled Parihaka leaders Te Whiti and Tohu, when they visited the Kaik at Otakou. He provided food for Parihaka followers imprisoned in Dunedin, and made trips to Taranaki, where he contributed funds to rebuild the settlement.¹³⁰

In 1888, when the widely-read travelogue writer 'The Warrigal' of the Christchurch *Press* turned his attention to Marlborough's Māhākipawa Goldfield, he sailed up the South

¹²² A. Anderson. 'Ellison, Thomas Rangiwahia - Ellison, Thomas Rangiwahia', from the Dictionary of New Zealand Biography. Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand, updated 30-Oct-2012 URL: <http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/biographies/2e7/ellison-thomas-rangiwahia>, accessed February 4, 2013.

¹²³ T.A. Pybus, *Maori and Missionary: Early Christian Missions in the South Island of New Zealand*, (Wellington, Reed, 1954), p. 169.

¹²⁴ Gilkison, *Early Days* p. 43.

¹²⁵ Anderson. 'Ellison, Thomas Rangiwāhia'.

¹²⁶ Gilkison, *Early Days*, p. 43.

¹²⁷ 'News of the Week', *Otago Witness*, 13 February 1875, p. 15.

¹²⁸ Advertisements, Farm to LET, *Otago Daily Times*, 28 July 1882, p. 1.

¹²⁹ T.A. Pybus, *Maori and Missionary* pp. 136-141.

¹³⁰ Anderson. 'Ellison, Thomas Rangiwāhia'. Raniera's son Thomas Rangiwāhia Ellison, (also known as Tom or Tamati Erihana, was a member of the New Zealand Natives football team which toured Great Britain and Australia in 1888 and was captain of New Zealand's first official rugby team when it toured Australia in 1893. It was Ellison who proposed that the New Zealand uniform be a black jersey with silver fern monogram, black cap and stockings and white knickerbockers which, with a switch to black shorts in 1901, became the All Black uniform which is still in use today.

Island's eastern coast, transferring to a smaller craft at Picton for the journey to Anakiwa. On his arrival, he ignored the waiting carts offering transport for the six miles to Māhākipawa and began walking, falling in with two other pedestrians, 'an elderly gentleman in spectacles' who was 'capital company ... for he has travelled much' and 'a tall, well-dressed Māori ... none other than Rāniera Erihana, the finder of that rich pocket of gold on the Shotover, and after whom Māori Point is named'.¹³¹ The Warrigal was, he declared, impressed with Erihana's 'quiet pride and dignity'. It is not clear what the old prospector was doing at Māhākipawa, but his story fades from the newspaper pages, although files in the testamentary archives revealed his work as executor to several Māori estates.¹³² Erihana died in 1920, leaving a substantial land holding.

Pyke missed out one name in his narrative; Hēnare Patukopa was either securing supplies for his mates (one report in early 1863 in the lower Shotover commented that in any group of four miners, two would be mining, one improving their accommodation and cooking for his partners, and one would be packing supplies from the distant stores at Arthur's Point or even Queenstown or Arrowtown¹³³) or engaged in the various tasks which miners in the harsh climate of the Shotover Gorge had to do to stay alive. He was the third owner of the rich claim which the Māori miners sold to the Welshmen of Māori Point. Patukopa took his earnings from the sale and purchased the Sandy Point store and ferry (in the Upper Clutha Valley, off the modern Luggate-Tarras Road, about 30 kilometres east of Wanaka), off George Hassing and William Ellacott. According to Hassing,

Patu sent for most of the Maoris located at Moeraki to come up to settle and have a good time at Sandy Point. This invitation was cordially responded to, and John Mason, the Maori magistrate at Moeraki, and his wife Emma, Wirumu Pokuku and his wife Emily, Owen and his wife, Raware and his son Heneri, Peter Wahoo, Anthony John Murray, Adam Clarke, and several other Maoris came up and took possession. On the opening night they had a grand "haka", which was kept going merrily till dawn. The Maoris appointed the late Robert Kidd, of Cromwell as managing director. Inside 12 months the manager owned the property and the aborigines had the experience.¹³⁴

¹³¹ The Warrigal, 'The Māhākipawa Goldfield', *Press*, 15 October 1888, p. 6.

¹³² E.g. Estate of Hemi Koraku Karetai, Puketeraki, 20 November, 1906, Archives New Zealand File: Otago Testamentary Register 1904 – 1907, C 720 961, Reference DAGI D247 9010 Box 7, record 7, and others.

¹³³ Our Lake Correspondent, *Otago Daily Times*, 30 April 1863, p. 4.

¹³⁴ G.M. Hassing, *Pages from the Memory Log of G.M. Hassing, Sailor – Pioneer – Schoolmaster*, (Invercargill, Southland Times, 1932), p. 30.

Hassing, a Dane with experience of life as a sailor, miner, log-rafter and teacher, was a man who was known as a friend and educator to the Chinese and seems to have been relatively colour-blind throughout his life.¹³⁵ However the disapproval implicit in his conclusion of 'Patu's' tale is consistent with his well-known moral rigidity as a school and civic leader in Otago and Southland.¹³⁶ The area of the Clutha near Sandy Point carries a legacy of Patukopa's time there. Like the area where he and his two mates found the rich ground in the Shotover River, this too earned the name 'Māori Point', a name which remains today.

Again, there are gaps in the story about what happened next for Hēnare Patukopa, but for him, Hakaria Haeroa, and Rāniera Ellison, their decision to go mining in Central Otago in 1862 changed their lives and their fortunes. Part of the reason this rich claim continued to be discussed was its incredible richness. Stories of point-weight hauls from the area continued over the following three years, each referring to 'the celebrated Maori claim'¹³⁷ as its reference point. Another name mentioned in Central Otago is Hēnare te Maire, who befriended the Māori Point trio while he was mining at the Shotover and who left mining to reside at Waitaki in his later life.¹³⁸

Other Māori Miners in Central Otago

In early 1862, Mounted Constable Edward Garvey reported that eight Māori miners were one of the first groups on the new diggings on the Waipori River, high above its confluence with Lammerlaw Creek. They worked an amalgamated claim and were, Garvey reported, 'doing well'.¹³⁹

At least two groups of Māori miners were in the Nokomai. One group of ten from Riverton worked under the leadership of Solomon, the kaumātua who had supplied Southland's District Surveyor James McKerrow with the location and nature of the lakes in the Hollyford and Waiau areas of the west-central region of the province.¹⁴⁰ This group worked a blind gully leading into the head of Victoria Gully and were reported to be finding quite a number of small nuggets ranging in size from 7 dwt to an ounce in the claim.¹⁴¹

¹³⁵ 'Memories of Wanaka', *Otago Witness*, 4 November 1908, p. 31.

¹³⁶ Obituary, George Magnus Hassing, *Otautau Standard*, 8 January 1929, p. 4.

¹³⁷ 'The Gold Fields' Wardens Report', *Otago Witness*, 25 September 1863, p. 2.

¹³⁸ Tangiwai, 'Shotover Gold', *Auckland Star*, 8 August 1932, p. 6.

¹³⁹ 'Waipori', *Otago Witness*, 11 January 1862, p. 7.

¹⁴⁰ 'Reconnaissance Survey of the Lake District', *Otago Witness*, 9 May 1863, p. 7.

¹⁴¹ 'Southland', *Otago Witness*, 11 October 1862, p. 2.

Another group was reported fossicking with knives on their claim prior to working it in the usual manner. By this rough-and-ready method, they recovered twelve ounces of ‘shotty’ gold and made the decision (especially given the numbers of would-be miners from Southland who returned home empty-handed) to stay and persist with a claim at the Nokomai.¹⁴² This group set the example for other miners in the area, working off the results of their prospecting work and developing their ground as a ‘dry diggings’ claim, which involved sinking into the side of the hill to recover the relatively heavy gold from the soil there.¹⁴³

Scurvy, a disease resulting from a diet lacking vitamin C, did not impact on Māori, since their local knowledge provided them with the means to obtain nutrition to keep them well, even in the sparse Central Otago landscape. It was therefore Māori miners travelling through the Upper Shotover/Skippers area that alerted the authorities to a serious outbreak of scurvy among the miners there, reporting that it was ‘prevalent to a frightful extent, and already numbers its victims by hundreds’ and when they traversed the Sandhills area, ‘in hut after hut they found none but sick men, some bedridden, others just able to crawl, none in any way capable of the exertion of travelling to the nearest point where fresh meat and vegetables the only chance of life, could be obtained’.¹⁴⁴ From an inference made in the *Wakatip Mail* in August, 1863, these Māori men advised where vitamin C-rich plants may be found, such as ‘Māori Cabbage’ (although one newspaperman wrote in March 1863 that this is ‘a nauseous herb, having all the flavour, and more than all the toughness, of boiled hemp’¹⁴⁵), sow thistle (pūhā) and spear grass root,¹⁴⁶ as well as contributing to the fund set up to provide medicines to the ailing residents of the Sandhills.¹⁴⁷

Whether their better health meant they could actively prospect while their pākehā associates were recovering, or a level of local knowledge helped them, a pair of unidentified Māori miners found a significant new field in the Shotover in September, 1863, causing a rush of up to 700 people¹⁴⁸. Deep Creek is a large stream downstream from and on the opposite side to Māori Point on the Shotover River. When this rush was announced, the correspondent hinted that the prospectors had endeavoured to keep their find secret, but as

¹⁴² ‘Southland, The Nokomai Diggings’, *Otago Witness*, 11 October 1862, p. 5.

¹⁴³ ‘Later News, from the Nokomai’, *Otago Witness*, 11 October 1862, p. 5.

¹⁴⁴ ‘Arrow River’, *Otago Daily Times*, 11 August 1863, p. 5.

¹⁴⁵ ‘Tuapeka to Wakatipu’, *Otago Daily Times*, 26 March 1863, p. 5.

¹⁴⁶ ‘The Lake Country’, *Otago Daily Times*, 4 September 1863, p. 6.

¹⁴⁷ ‘Arrow River’, *Otago Daily Times*, 11 August 1863, p. 5.

¹⁴⁸ ‘Arrow Gold Field’, *Otago Witness*, 25 September 1863, p. 8.

soon as the location was known, it was admitted that ‘hitherto everyone who has been there put it down as a rank shicer’¹⁴⁹.

Other Māori like William Gilbert Mouat, a te reo-fluent grandson of Irihāpeti Motoitoi and Richard Driver of Port Chalmers, were prominent in the later stages of the Otago gold rush. Mouat trained as a surveyor, became a shift manager in a quartz mine at Bullendale, mined for quartz at Bendigo owned a share in a rich sluicing claim in Bendigo’s Rise and Shine Basin¹⁵⁰ and worked as an engineer on Otago gold dredges.¹⁵¹ Other Māori were also working in Otago mining, but – and perhaps as a result of the polyglot nature of the mining population – ceased to be identified as separate to their mining brethren, in terms of the narratives in the records.

Māori were even present at the Klondike rush in the Yukon Valley in 1898. Douglas Fetherling has recorded Māori miners at Sheep Camp¹⁵², near the famed Chilkoot Pass into the gold region and Michael Gates has found a picture of a ‘dwelling constructed near Dawson by two Maoris, using willow sticks, moss and mud to create a beehive-shaped affair with a small log porch entrance, fitted with a Maori figurehead over the entrance’.¹⁵³



FIGURE 2.2 Māori Cottage at the Yukon, c. 1899, Goetzman photo, Michael Gates Collection, Used with Permission.

¹⁴⁹ Ibid.

¹⁵⁰ See L. Carpenter, A 35 Year Endeavour: Bendigo’s Rise and Shine Sluicing Syndicate, *Australasian Historical Archaeology*, Vol. 30, 2012, p.10.

¹⁵¹ W.G. Mouat *Devonport Ahoy!*

¹⁵² D. Fetherling, *The Gold Crusades*, (Toronto, Toronto UP, 1997), p. 141.

¹⁵³ Michael Gates, *Yukon New Website*, ‘Rooting Out the Family Tree Can Reveal Fascinating History’, <http://yukon-news.com/opinions/columns/24185/> updated 5 August, 2011, accessed 8 February 2013.

Conclusion

As soon as Otago Māori comprehended the value their new pākehā neighbours placed on gold they spoke up. They were quick to realise that a phenomenon they had always been aware of, that of heavy, shiny yellow stones and dust scattered on the banks of their Mata-au River was exactly what the Europeans sailed around the world to find. What is hard to believe is just how long it took for what was widespread knowledge to be adequately passed on to the new settlers.

When the information about the golden riches to be found in Central Otago became general knowledge, Māori refused to be spectators, participating in and even starting rushes to rich ground. Their indigenous knowledge helped them to avoid the perils of flooded river crossings and diet-induced scurvy, and their collective power enabled those who would dispossess them of payable claims merely on the basis of colour, to be fought off.

When I have talked of my research with other South Island Māori, a considerable number have expressed surprise that their ancestors might have been gold-miners. Even more have been surprised to learn of the early migrations to Australia's mining areas. Their understanding of this period of New Zealand's colonial history was of Māori as bemused spectators, aware of but puzzled by the pākehā obsession with gold, but content to let them scurry around in search of it. My research has revealed that Māori were not content to be passive observers, but sought – and won – a share and the riches offered by the gold rush.

For Māori, as active participants in the Central Otago gold rush, the heritage of the rush period can be seen as one of the first areas of New Zealand society and converse where (despite some instances of exotic otherness raising comment) there was a degree of colour-blindness, where the meritocracy of gold-finding established some Māori as pre-eminent and as such, these indigenous prospectors deserve to be regarded in the same light as the other legends of the early rush, like Edward Peters and Gabriel Read, Horatio Hartley and Christopher Reilly, William Fox and the others who occupy the pantheon of epoch-defining gold men in New Zealand.

Chapter 3 – Class: The Old Identity and the New Iniquity

The Rush for Gold: An Inevitable History

When folks rushed to Otago,
 It filled their hearts with fear –
 They said to us Victorians,
 “We dinna want you here.”
 But bands of sturdy diggers
 Soon let those natives see
 New Zealand wasn’t made for
 The Old Identity.

Charles R. Thatcher¹

Introduction

I have frequently heard and read that the Otago Provincial Government suppressed or managed rumours of gold in Otago, where the ruling class of ‘Old Identity’ settlers paternalistically subverted news of gold finds to hold down working class pioneers and to hold back the morally-corrupting influence of the ‘New Iniquity’ of gold miners.

My research was sparked when I read newspaper articles from before 1860, which revealed gold being found across the province. With these articles spelling out gold finds and naming their locations, it was immediately clear that a conspiracy to hide gold did not happen the way it has been portrayed; further, I found that newspaper editors albeit after an initial reluctance fear of the ‘mania’ of gold rushes, were complicit in the revelation of Otago gold. Nevertheless, just as it proved the case in California and Australia, the right conditions for a rush had to be in place before rumours of gold could produce anything.

Otago’s gold rushes were inevitable. Someone, sometime, was going to pause in the midst of herding a flock of sheep across a stream or washing clothes on a riverside and spy the gleam of gold in the gravels. What is surprising is that it took so long to happen.

¹ Charles R. Thatcher, ‘The Old Identity 2’ in Robert Hoskins, *Goldfield Balladeer*, (Auckland, Collins, 1977), p. 152.

Newspapers are held to be in the thrall of the ‘Old Identity’ in much of the historiography, so it appropriate to consider what they said about gold.

Dunedin Newspapermen

With an urban population of barely 600² the first Dunedin newspaper appeared when H.B. Graham’s *Otago News*³ was published. It lasted two years, (13 December 1848 – 21 December 1850⁴) and in the editor’s blunt attacks on land policy and provincial government incompetence, fell foul of William Cargill and the other leaders of Dunedin.⁵ The first issue boasted of how it would provide the new settlement with a ‘public organ... whose iron-tongued mouth may be heard uttering its wants, its benefits, its abuses, its hopes, and fears, thousands of miles away, and stirring up the hearts of men to justice, and to act truthfully at home and abroad.’⁶

The *Otago News*’ first reports of gold came in a June 9 1849 edition featuring a reprint of a *Times* article from February 7 and titled ‘Gold “Diggings”’. It discussed the legal status of the Californian territory, then reported that entire military detachments had disbanded ‘to join the invaders in common quest of plunder’, offered a survey of the range of characters of the goldfields:

plodding old stagers grub on steadily in the sand, and wash their scrapings in a tin pan. More lazy ones “roll about and pick up the big bits, leaving the smaller pieces for the next immigration.” Some fine dashing fellows on blood horses career over the rocks with bowie knives at full speed, and “gouge” out the gold from the crevices which practise has made familiar [and there is] neither law, nor government, nor police.⁷

They followed this with reports clipped from *Bell’s Messenger*⁸, a letter in verse from ‘Gold Pippin’ in California to ‘Sour Crab’ in Auckland (You will hardly believe, but the gold which one meets/Is as common as mud that’s oft in your streets) in September⁹ and a sardonic

² E. Olssen, *A History of Otago*, (Dunedin, John McIndoe, 1984), p. 42.

³ (Which he ran in conjunction with the duties of postmaster of Dunedin), L. Langlands, *The Post Office of the Early Days, To the Editor, Correspondence*, *Otago Witness*, 11 May 1899, p. 7.

⁴ *The Cyclopaedia of New Zealand* [Vol. 4, Otago & Southland Provincial Districts] (1905) (Christchurch: The Cyclopaedia Company), p. 227.

⁵ Tom Brooking. ‘Cargill, William - Biography’, from the Dictionary of New Zealand Biography. Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand, updated 1-Sep-10, URL: <http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/biographies/1c4/1>.

⁶ Editorial, *Otago News*, 13 December 1848, p. 2.

⁷ ‘Gold “Diggings”’, *Otago News*, 9 June 1849, p. 2.

⁸ ‘Effects in America of the Californian Discovery’, *Otago News*, 9 June 1849, p. 3.

⁹ ‘Latest From California, San Francisco, 1st April, 1849’, *Otago News*, 15 September 1849, p. 2.

mocking of the entire gold rush experience from a 'Dr J. Tyrwhitt Brooks', from the *Times* of April 11, 1849. Offered as a 'perfect febrifuge ... to all the agitated curates, lawyer's clerks, bankers' ditto, who are firmly resolved to throw up their hundred a year next quarter day, to buy with their poor savings a spade and cradle',¹⁰ the article mocked the 'gold fever' which had taken hold.

In November, the *News* carried a report from the *Sydney Morning Herald* detailing how 'the gold still continues to be found in abundance; and the wages for labor continued high; but still the robberies and the murders, and the sickness which prevailed, has caused much misery and discontent.'¹¹ This was a change of tone for the Dunedin newspaper and what had begun to be written as a thrilling 'Boys' Own Adventure' at the Californian goldfields began to have increasingly prurient details of murder and mayhem featured.¹²

In the remaining months that the *Otago News* continued to publish, it offered a range of reports from California, from a sense of wonder at the transformation in the booming town of San Francisco from canvas to brick¹³, to the continued demand for vessels to sail from Wellington and Auckland to the goldfields.¹⁴ In August, the editor listed all the very worst of the Californian goldfields: 'This is the world upside down; awful sufferings are amongst respectable men, who are not accustomed to labour, and are unemployed.... Some do great things at the diggings: 6 ounces, 10 ounces, and even 16 ounces a day; but hundreds do scarcely sufficient to clear expenses.... Murders are frequent both in country and city.... I would not advise anyone to come to California without due consideration'.¹⁵

At the end of 1850 the *Otago News* was advertised for sale by Graham who was in failing health. After Dunedin spent a month with no newspaper, in 1851, W.H. Cutten's *Otago Witness* launched with the *News*' printing plant,¹⁶ minimal fanfare and 120 subscribers, of whom almost half were overseas.¹⁷ Beginning with prosaic reports of local development, roading issues and agriculture, its fortnightly editions also featured overseas events clipped from foreign newspapers as they arrived. Its tone reflected the conservative

¹⁰ 'Four Months Amongst the Gold Finders in California', *Otago News*, 13 October 1849, p. 3.

¹¹ 'Latest News from California' (from the *Sydney Morning Herald*, Aug. 6), *Otago News*, 17 November 1849, p. 3.

¹² 'See Californian Gold – Appalling murders', *Otago News*, 24 November, 1849, p. 3; 'Straws From the Gold Coast', 22 December, 1849, p. 4; 'A Letter from California', 5 January 1850, p. 2, 'Straws From the Gold Coast' (from the *Polynesian*), January 12 1850, p. 4.

¹³ 'California', *Otago News*, 4 May 1850, p. 4.

¹⁴ Editorial, *Otago News*, 11 May 1850, p. 2.

¹⁵ 'California News', (from the *South Australian*), *Otago News*, 3 August 1850, p. 2.

¹⁶ T.M.Hocken, *Contributions to the Early History of New Zealand (Settlement of Otago)*, (London, Sampson and Low, Marston and Company, 1898), p. 123.

¹⁷ A. H. Reed, *The Story of Otago – Age of Adventure* (Wellington, A. H. and A.W. Reed, 1947), p. 195.

thinking of the city's burghers, offering what the National Library of New Zealand calls a 'high moral stance', but which was 'insulting, vindictive and highly biased in the way that it helped [Otago Association leader] William Cargill',¹⁸ especially given that W.H. Cutten was Cargill's son-in-law.¹⁹ The *Witness* has long been regarded as the voice of the 'Old Identity' class of Otago, and when it came to the early years of espousing the views of Cargill, the Reverend Thomas Burns and the leading merchants of the new town, this was true.

The *Witness* disapproved of the rush to California, emphasising the most graphic and salacious events, grudgingly admitting riches found, but highlighting the worst aspects as a cautionary tale. The first article from California said 'by a gentleman who arrived from the Southern mines, we learn of several murders and other atrocities committed there, which developed a very bad state of society'²⁰ and the second grimly listed a string of murders.²¹ When news of the gold finds in New South Wales broke later in 1851, the dour reportage was given a fresh impetus, with the *Witness*' first article reproducing a *Bathurst Free Press* leader:

The discovery of the fact by Mr. Hargraves that the country ... is one immense gold field, has produced a tremendous excitement in the town of Bathurst ... the business of the town was utterly paralysed. A complete mental madness appears to have seized almost every member of the community, and, as a natural consequence, there has been a universal rush to the diggings. Any attempt to describe the numberless scenes—grave, gay, and ludicrous— which have arisen out of the state of things, would require the graphic pen of a Dickens, and would exceed any limit which could be assigned to it in a newspaper Such is the intensity of the excitement, that people appear almost regardless of their present comfort, and think of nothing but gold. Of course all this must end in disappointment.²²

Horried at the idea that Dunedin settlers could head for the new goldfields, Cutten increased his polemic,

'All is not gold that glitters is an old proverb, and the truth of which we expect will be speedily realised at the diggings at Bathurst, and the other newly discovered golden regions of Australia.... The number of persons who have proceeded to California, ... and who have perished miserably from disease, famine, and violence, is far beyond what is conceivable by

¹⁸ The National Library of New Zealand, Te Puna Mātauranga o Aotearoa, Papers past Website: Otago Witness – Description, the <http://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/cgi-bin/paperspast?a=d&cl=CL1.OW&essay=1>.

¹⁹ Hocken, *Contributions*, p. 123

²⁰ 'California', *Otago Witness*, 22 February 1851, p. 4.

²¹ Editorial, *Otago Witness*, 22 February 1851, p. 2.

²² 'Latest News from the Gold Mines' (From the *Bathurst Free Press*), *Otago Witness*, 16 August 1851, p. 4.

persons living in a quiet agricultural country.... the gathering together of every loose character, and the development of every evil passion to its fullest extent, renders the discovery of gold very far from an unalloyed advantage.²³

In the pages of the same edition, the *Witness* ran a digest of clippings from various Australian papers, each chosen to influence readers into renouncing plans to leave for New South Wales, declaring that what ‘has happened in California: ruin, misery, disease, death’ was there and including a letter from Summerhill Creek, which said ‘Don’t come here by any means, unless you want to ruin yourself’,²⁴ and concluding with Cutten’s homily ‘WHEAT IS GOLD, AND THE PRODUCE OF THE FORMER WILL HEAP AN ABUNDANCE OF THE LATTER.’²⁵ The next edition expressed the hope that New South Wales would be ‘an excellent impetus to the expansion of local Otago agriculture to supply the new field’ but in what seems a throwaway line, admitted that gold may be found in Otago, and ruefully concluded that ‘such a thing is not now-a-days impossible’.²⁶

The first gold in Otago

The first hint that the scenes at San Francisco and Bathurst might one day be replicated in Dunedin’s muddy streets came when C.J. Pharazyn and C. Nairn, two Wellington men searching out land for a sheep run, revealed that they had found auriferous quartz and gold dust at Goodwood (near Palmerston). Their letters and analysis of the quartz they found was published in full in the *Witness*, albeit with an introductory admonition from the editor ‘Flour is more necessary than gold, and may be more profitable.’²⁷

This announcement elicited little more than a collective shrug in the minds of the pioneers of Otago; the business of adapting to the environment of their new home, breaking in new land and securing enough food for them and their livestock occupied every waking hour. Pharazyn and Nairn’s letter was reproduced by the widely-read²⁸ *Wellington*

²³ Editorial, *Otago Witness*, 30 August 1851, p. 2.

²⁴ *Southern Cross*, quoted in ‘The Gold Diggings’, *Otago Witness*, 30 August 1851, p. 4.

²⁵ ‘The Gold Diggings’, *Otago Witness* 30 August 1851, p. 4 (capitalisation in original).

²⁶ Original Correspondence, *Otago Witness*, 20 September 1851, p. 2.

²⁷ (full text in Appendix 2) ‘Gold at Otago’, *Otago Witness*, 1 November 1851, p. 2.

²⁸ National Library of New Zealand Te Puna Mātauranga o Aotearoa, Wellington Independent, Description, URL <http://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/cgi-bin/paperspast?a=d&cl=CL1.WI&essay=1&e=-----10--1----0--> accessed 19 January, 2013.

Independent at the end of November, but like Otago, the news caused no stir among subscribers.²⁹

To cool any ardour for gold-finding among his readers, the *Witness*'s editor stepped up coverage of the very worst reports emanating from the Australia with vignettes like 'Robberies have become as frequent as sunshiny days ... No police, no protection, and a gang of scoundrels prowling about at night, and drinking during the day are what we have to suffer'³⁰ revealing the editor's paternalistic concern for his readers mixed with fear of what an emigration to Australian goldfields would mean for the future of Otago.³¹ Paralleling this, Cutten developed his idea that the fertile plains of Otago could be generate wealth by supplying the Australian goldfields,³² which was expanded on in Reverend Richard Taylor's popular 1855 travelogue *Te Ika a Maui*. Taylor was the first writer to highlight the phenomenon of Australian miners bringing new-found riches to New Zealand to invest in land: 'A little stream of emigration has begun to flow in ... and will eventually bring to the shores of New Zealand, many of the successful Australian gold diggers. It has already brought some.'³³

Sometime in 1853,³⁴ an unremarkable ship's cook by the name of Edward Peters jumped from the immigrant and freight ship *Maori* and served a six week sentence in the Dunedin jail for absenting himself without leave.³⁵ With experience of the Californian rush, the Indian-born Peters, or 'Black Peter' as he was popularly known, would find the landscape of southern Otago interesting. In the earliest part of the Otago narrative, he was not known,

²⁹ 'Gold at Otago', *Wellington Independent*, 22 November 1851, p. 3.

³⁰ 'Victoria', (From the *Melbourne Argus*, Jan. 21.), *Otago Witness* 28 February 1852, p. 3; see also 'Melbourne, The Gold Diggings', *Otago Witness*, 12 March 1853, p.3; 'Victoria', *Otago Witness*, 4 June 1853, p. 3; 'Scraps from the "Diggings"', *Otago Witness*, 2 April 1853, p. 4 and many similar.

³¹ Editorial, *Otago Witness*, 12 June 1852, p. 2.

³² Editorial, *Otago Witness*, 26 June 1852, p. 2; see also Editorial, 1 August 1857, p. 4.

³³ R. Taylor, *Te Ika a Maui Or New Zealand and Its Inhabitants, Illustrating the Origin, Manners, Customs, Mythology, Religion, Rites, Songs, Proverbs, Fables, and Language of the Natives. Together with the Geology, Natural History, Productions, and Climate of the Country; Its State As Regards Christianity; Sketches of the Principal Chiefs, and Their Present Position; with a Map and Numerous Illustrations* - chapter XVII: Climate (London: Wertheim and MacIntosh, 1855), p. 263.

³⁴ Both Fred Waite (*Pioneering in South Otago*, (Dunedin, Whitcombe & Tombs, under the auspices of the Otago Centennial Historical Committee, 1948), p. 105), and the writers of *The Cyclopedia of New Zealand* [Volume 4, Otago & Southland Provincial Districts] p. 391 place Peters as arriving in around 1857, but William Mayhew's *Tuapeka – the Land and its People*, 1853 (Dunedin, Whitcombe & Tombs, under the auspices of the Otago Centennial Historical Committee, 1949) pp. 21-22 and Tony Ballantyne's *Webs of Empire* (Wellington, Bridget Williams Books, 2012), p. 119 states that he arrived in Otago in 1853, and it is implied by Mr G. Millar in *Otago Witness*, 31 March 1898, Otago Settlement Jubilee Supplementary Number 1898, p. 22.

³⁵ *Otago Witness*, 31 March 1898, Otago Settlement Jubilee Supplementary Number 1898, p. 23.

let alone renowned for anything other than the exotica inherent in his race. He is first recorded in Edmund Bowler's diary as a hut builder and bullock driver on Run 137 in 1857.³⁶

Notwithstanding the provincial newspapermen's efforts to shape opinion and keep their readers in the Presbyterian arcadia of 1850s Dunedin, gold kept being found. John Hyde Harris was given a small quantity of fine scaly gold, which was 'obtained in 1853 in the neighbourhood of the remarkable chert rocks, designated "the Fortifications", not far from Mount Hyde, and consequently in the vicinity of the Hindon workings'³⁷ and when it canvassed Otago's recent gold history in 1862, the *Otago Daily Times* commented that 'at various times gold appears to have been found in small quantities in the [Otago] mountain streams'.³⁸

Pyke would later comment 'There seems to have been a vague impression existent, that there *was* gold in Otago, though nothing certain was discovered'³⁹ and subsequent retrospectives like the *Witness*' Jubilee edition⁴⁰ revealed that this was widely-known.

It needed a prospector to have a look.

The German Savant

In 1853 Dr. G.F.R. Schmidt arrived in Dunedin from Wellington, where he had completed a nine month contract exploring 'the accessible portions of the North Island and now offered to devote six months to the same work in Otago'.⁴¹

Schmidt was described as 'a German savan and enthusiast, eager for travel and discovery'⁴² by those who met him and attended his Dunedin lectures, with the notable exceptions of William Colenso, who called him 'a vagabond and vainglorious false prophet'⁴³ and Dr Thomas Hocken, who reputedly thought him 'a charlatan'⁴⁴. He secured a £100 subsidy from the Provincial Council's meager budget to complete a detailed survey of

³⁶ Mayhew, *Tuapeka*, p. 21.

³⁷ V. Pyke, *History of the Early Gold Discoveries in Otago*, (Dunedin, Otago Daily Times and Witness Newspapers Company, 1887), p. 5.

³⁸ Editorial, *Otago Daily Times*, 27 December 1862, p. 4.

³⁹ Pyke, *History*, p. 5.

⁴⁰ *Otago Witness*, 31 March 1898, Otago Settlement Jubilee Supplementary Number 1898, p. 24.

⁴¹ 'Gold in Otago', *Otago Daily Times*, 25 November 1882, p. 2.

⁴² 'The Early Days of Otago', *Otago Witness*, 8 March 1873, p. 2.

⁴³ William Colenso, Napier, Sept 22, 1869, Letters to the Editor, *Hawke's Bay Herald*, 24 September 1869, p. 3.

⁴⁴ Anon., 'Colenso and Chevalier Gustav Schmidt', *Colenso*, Vol II, No. 4, April 2011, p. 22.

the southern region of the South Island⁴⁵ and as he left in 1855, predicted that he would survey an easily-navigable route to the West Coast, and ‘obtain a perfect knowledge of the terra incognita whereon no European has ever set foot before; and in the course of my travels find geographical resources in such a wonderful curious country’, in addition to ‘furnishing a full description of the whole country, its rivers, lakes and mountains’.⁴⁶ That was the last anyone heard of Schmidt or the government’s £100 investment. His body was found in 1857 by Māori farm workers near Waikawa, having died less than a fortnight into his expedition.⁴⁷ Notwithstanding the explorer’s ineptitude and pathetic death, this episode reveals that the Provincial Government actively funded mineral exploration and could see benefits accruing from discoveries.⁴⁸

Throughout the mid-1850s sporadic gold finds were reported, such as Dr Richardson who found gold in his home paddock at Oaklands among the clay forming a ditch fence⁴⁹ and others who, according to a *Witness* article in 1890, ‘occasionally brought into Dunedin small quantities of the precious metal’.⁵⁰

When headlines announced a gold rush to the Aorere River near Collingwood, Nelson⁵¹, it made the ruling class in Otago pause. Writing to the *Witness* under the sobriquet ‘An Australian Miner’, one correspondent caused a more than a little disquiet when he was moved by news from a friend mining at the Aorere to assert ‘in this Province, on the Maitai, the dividing range between the Tokomairiro and the Clutha, and other as likely spots, the prevailing standard indications of the auriferous metal may be traced as strongly as in many parts of the Australian mines.’⁵² But given the muted nature of the Aorere, the small numbers of miners, and the less-than-convincing levels of riches being declared, the leaders relaxed

⁴⁵ ‘Historical Otago, Part XXVII.- Continued’, *Otago Witness*, 20 October 1883, p. 8.

⁴⁶ ‘Gold in Otago’, *Otago Daily Times*, 25 November 1882, p. 2.

⁴⁷ Thomas MacKenzie, ‘First through Tautuku Forest’, *Otago Witness*, 25 February 1903, p. 4; Gardiner, First Through the Tautuka Forest, Correspondence, *Otago Witness*, 11 March 1903, p.14; J.A.Wraytt, First Through Tautuku forest. To the Editor, *Otago Witness*, 11 March 1903, p. 33; Hugh McKechnie, The Fate of Schmidt. To the Editor, *Otago Witness*, 18 March 1903, p. 11; James Adam, ‘A German Scientist Suddenly Appears in Otago, A Reminiscence of Olden Times’, *Otago Witness*, 18 March 1903, p. 72.

⁴⁸ A great deal more may be read about Schmidt on the Colenso project website’s newsletter of April 2011: www.colensostudy.id.au/Newsletters/newsletter%20Apr11.pdf. To put the £100 in perspective, when Robert Williams was appointed to the post of Otago Provincial Surgeon in 1857, his annual salary was £120 (Original correspondence, *Otago Witness*, 10 January 1857, p. 3).

⁴⁹ ‘The Gold at Dredging Industry, In its Practical, Economic and General Aspects XXVI, Southland as a Dredging Field’, *Otago Witness*, 31 August 1899, p. 18; ‘The Early Days of Otago, Second Series, Chapter XXVII – The “Colonist” Gold at the Maitai’, 19 April 1873, p. 2.

⁵⁰ ‘The New Zealand Mineral Court’, *Otago Witness*, 27 February 1890, p. 18.

⁵¹ ‘Discovery of Gold in Nelson’, *Otago Witness*, 28 June 1856, p. 3.

⁵² ‘To the Editor of the Otago Witness’, *Otago Witness*, 5 July 1856, p. 4.

and did not deign to acknowledge this remarkably accurate and prescient missive. And no-one acted on the information, despite the letter being printed by the newspaper.

The debacle with Schmidt bought them a little time, but ominously, the next explorers knew what they were doing, were assiduous in their reporting and completed work that would change Otago's history forever.

The Explorer Surveyors

In 1856, Mr. Charles Ligar, the Surveyor-General of New Zealand sent a letter to the Superintendent of Otago when he concluded a survey in the interior of the province. When the Provincial Council met in the afternoon of December 2, 1856, his letter was tabled, and William Cargill introduced it in deprecatory terms: 'A letter from Mr. Ligar, on the existence of gold, will be laid before you for public information. It is right, however, to observe that gold has been found for years past in Auckland and Nelson, but hitherto quite unremunerative.'⁵³

Following this introduction, the Provincial Council dealt with several bills, then adjourned. When the house recommenced, the letter from Surveyor Ligar was read in full. It contained the unequivocal statement '... in my recent visit to the South part of the Province of Otago, I found gold very generally distributed in the gravel and sand of the Mataura River at Tuturau, and that from the geological character of the District I am of opinion that a remunerative Goldfield exists in the neighbourhood'.⁵⁴ This letter and the other remarks were printed in full by the *Otago Witness* and its competitor, the *Otago Colonist* in the week following its submission to the Council.

Unlike previous prospectors, Ligar had expertise in gold finding. When the Auckland (Coromandel) field developed in 1852, he was there with Charles Heaphy, advising miners how and where to sink shafts, recommending where best to take samples of auriferous quartz for further analysis and teaching general mining methodology.⁵⁵ As the field developed, Lieutenant-Governor Grey commissioned Ligar to report on how Heaphy was working with Lanear for the purpose of 'inducing the natives of this district to meet for the purpose of co-

⁵³ 'Provincial Council', *Otago Witness*, 6 December 1856, p. 3.

⁵⁴ (full text in Appendix 3) as well as full publication in the *Otago Witness*, 6 December 1856, p. 3 and the *Otago Colonist*, 5 December 1856, p. 2; Ligar's letter was re-printed in other leading colonial newspapers, including the *Daily Southern Cross* (Auckland), 23 January 1857, p. 3; *Nelson Examiner and New Zealand Chronicle*, 11 March 1857, p.2; *Taranaki Herald*, 28 March 1857, p. 3; *New Zealander*, 16 May 1857, p. 4.

⁵⁵ 'The Auckland Gold Field', *New Zealander*, 27 November 1852, p. 2.

operating with the Government to establish some regulations for the good government of the Gold Diggings on this river',⁵⁶ and who was working and for what reward.

The Otago authorities knew Ligar's expertise was several levels above the ineptitude of Archibald, Schmidt, Pharazyn and other early gold finders. This shaped reaction to his letter, Vincent Pyke commenting that

If Mr. Charles Ligar had thrown dynamite, in its most diabolical form, into His Honor's office, it is questionable whether he would have created greater consternation. Captain Cargill appears to have had a very lively, and perhaps not altogether unnatural, dislike to Goldfields, "diggers," and everything connected therewith.... The more solid of the early settlers were entirely with him in entertaining "holy horror and pious dread" of the discomforts and troubles attendant on a "rush," or anything calculated to distract the population from the slow but sure progress of settlement... which would have been endangered by any precipitate movement, such as the discovery of gold was likely to engender.⁵⁷

Despite Pyke's characterization of these events, Ligar's letter began a transformation of attitudes and outlook for the editor of the *Otago Witness* and even the Provincial Councilors. In March, Cutten knew that the Nelson diggings, far from being a brief aberration for dilutant working class colonists to 'play' at gold-finding, was rapidly turning into a payable and, more importantly for Otago, attractive proposition.⁵⁸ This influenced how he reacted to the news of the Maitauna:

We have been favoured with a view of some of the gold found at the south ... there can be no doubt that gold does exist in this Province but whether or not it is to be found in sufficient quantity to make it worth the labour of working, we have no means of ascertaining.... On the whole it is certainly not desirable, in the present state of the Province, that there should be any general rush in search of gold, for however much the discovery of an available gold field would ultimately tend to develop the resources of the Province, any wild speculation which would withdraw a considerable amount of labour would be a serious loss to the community, and a great inconvenience to individuals.⁵⁹

The events at Maitauna were carefully chronicled in the pages of the *Witness*, with yields detailed, the opinions of various notables visiting the diggings, and the news that a

⁵⁶ Editorial, *New Zealand Spectator and Cook's Strait Guardian*, 15 December 1852, p. 2.

⁵⁷ Pyke, *History*, p. 6.

⁵⁸ 'Nelson', *Otago Witness*, 21 March 1857, p. 4.

⁵⁹ 'Local Intelligence', *Otago Witness*, 7 March 1857, p. 5.

group of twelve citizens from Dunedin ‘rushed to the area to try their luck’.⁶⁰ A fortnight after the above article, the paper’s cautious conservatism was abandoned and Cutten was moved to admit what everyone else knew ‘We have further intelligence from the South, which leads us to believe that an available gold field exists there....we have no doubt that New Zealand will be found to be an auriferous country.’⁶¹ The *Witness*, the newspaper which some writers persist in representing as working in league with Cargill and a ruling class in Dunedin to suppress news of gold (see below), then described a wedding ring which was manufactured from Maitua gold by Dunedin watchmaker J. Reid and commented ‘It is very difficult to obtain reliable information on this subject, as many persons appear to think it advisable to keep the success of their operations secret. We, however, give the information as we obtained it.’⁶²

The intellectual and business enemy of the *Otago Witness*, William Lambert’s *Otago Colonist* took longer to acknowledge the gold found at the Maitua. The first mention occurred when a letter writer signing his name ‘A Miner, Waipara’ said

It has been supposed by some that the discovery of a goldfield would be very disadvantageous to Otago, who they surmise are not prepared for it.... The government of the United States fostered and encouraged mining enterprise by offering a reward of £500 for the discovery of gold, silver, copper, lead, or tin. Why should not the government of Otago follow such a good an example?⁶³

Cutten was moved to comment in his discussion of local events: ‘The discovery of gold in the Province has produced less excitement than might have been expected, and there appears to be no probability of a rush. The event is looked upon in different lights by some it is assumed to be rather injurious than beneficial to the interests of the Province others, again, think it will be the making of the place.’⁶⁴ His tone, far from the hectoring of the past, changed into benign encouragement, as at Aorere and Maitua he saw little of the hedonism, violence and excess that he had feared gold causing and he assured his readers that

specimens are plentiful amongst the people at the Bluff and Invercargill ... We have seen these specimens in the hands of five different persons.... it will be a most singular circumstance that gold should have been spread

⁶⁰ ‘Road Meeting in N-E Valley’, *Otago Witness*, 11 April 1857, p. 5.

⁶¹ ‘Gold’, *Otago Witness*, 21 March 1857, p. 4.

⁶² ‘Local Intelligence’, *Otago Witness*, 28 March 1857, p. 5.

⁶³ ‘General Correspondence – Our Mineral Wealth’, *Otago Colonist and Dunedin and Invercargill Advertiser*, April 17, 1857, p. 3.

⁶⁴ ‘Local Intelligence’, Gold, *Otago Witness*, 4 April 1857, p. 4.

beneath our feet over such an extent of country comprising the greater portion of the Otago Province.⁶⁵

A fortnight after he wrote this, the second of the surveyors contributed their observations of Otago's geology. The intense competition between the Dunedin newspapers meant that the *Colonist* was the first to break news about Chief Surveyor John Turnbull Thomson's survey in 1857.⁶⁶

Thomson, Chief Surveyor of Otago reported to the Provincial government, which again was printed in full by the *Witness* and the *Colonist*. His introductory comments were unequivocal: 'The existence of Gold is undoubted a fact first brought to light by Mr. Ligar, Surveyor-General of New Zealand. The principal specimens yet found have been obtained in the gravel of the Mataura River, near Tuturau but I am credibly informed that indications are everywhere met with in the Waiopai and Mataura plains'.⁶⁷ However, because he did not find gold himself, the main response to his report was from sheep farmers who followed up on his hints of good land in the hinterland. But Thomson was collating all the reports and was determinably seeking contributions from those finding gold, including, it emerged later, Edward (Black Peter) Peters, late of the *Maori*.

In May 1857, a correspondent for the *Witness* writing under the pseudonym 'T.B.G.' contributed articles in a light-hearted travelogue called 'Otago: Pencillings by the way.' These looked at the people, property, fauna and activity around the province. In late April he reached Mataura and tried his hand at gold finding:

We had never washed for gold before, but, accompanied by Mr. C. Lemon, and by his kindness provided with a tin dish, we proceeded to the beach of the Mataura River. Having stirred the sand and gravel with a grubhoe, we filled the dish, and carefully washed out the contents till but a small residuum was left. Anxiously we examined this to see if we could detect a speck of gold, sure enough there were several specks of gold, and of no very minute dimensions either. ... Having washed other three or four dishfuls of sand and gravel, we found more or less gold in each and in all we obtained, as we afterwards found, about eight grains weight of gold.

⁶⁵ Ibid.,

⁶⁶ Editorial, *Otago Colonist*, 17 April, 1857, p. 2.

⁶⁷ (full text in Appendix 4) 'Government Survey of the Southern Country of the Province of Otago, New Zealand', *Otago Witness*, 11 July 1857, p. 4. (Reprinted: 'The Southern Districts', *Lyttelton Times*, 9 May 1857, p. 5; Otago, *Wellington Independent*, 20 May 1857, p. 6; 'The Southern Districts of the Province of Otago', *Nelson Examiner and New Zealand Chronicle*, 3 June 1857, p. 4.

The correspondent finished his narrative with a challenge to the Provincial authorities that was to have further consequences on the province:

Let there be a handsome reward offered to any party who shall produce satisfactory evidence of the existence of a remunerative gold field in the colony ... 'Tis no matter for dreaming over, for if it be a profitable gold field, it will give the colony an impetus that fifty years' toil would fail to give. We have no sympathy with those timid spirits who fear the effects of diggings ... some inconvenience, some evils, even some suffering they might cause in the first instance, but these would be speedily surmounted whilst the ultimate beneficial effects are as certain as they are incalculable.⁶⁸

Locally, Auckland's *Daily Southern Cross*, *Nelson Examiner and New Zealand Chronicle* and the *Wellington Independent*⁶⁹ reprinted T.B.G.'s article in full, and it formed part of the petition to the National Houses of Assembly for the separation of the province of Southland from Otago.⁷⁰ In Australia the *Empire* and the *Sydney Morning Herald* newspapers in New South Wales⁷¹, the *Courier* and the *Cornwall Chronicle* in Tasmania⁷² and Adelaide's *South Australian Register*⁷³ printed this column in editions throughout 1857. According to a letter written to Vincent Pyke in 1886, one of the two newspapers in Tasmania featuring T.B.G.'s article was read by a Tasmanian veteran of the Californian and Australian gold rushes, Gabriel Read. He, like the good folk of Otago, did nothing about what he read, desultorily resolving 'to have a look at [the Maitaura field] whenever opportunity should favour.'⁷⁴

Apply (by Pick-lock) to the Provincial Chest

The next turn of thought by the *Otago Witness*' Cutten revealed just how complete his *volte-face* was, compared with the earlier polemic. In May, he wrote a reasoned discussion of the merits or otherwise of gold-finding, commenting positively on the behavior and results at Nelson and, most importantly for the history of gold in Otago, made a call that would achieve results:

⁶⁸ 'Otago, Pencillings by the Way. IV, The Maitaura', *Otago Witness*, 16 May 1857, p. 4.

⁶⁹ 'Otago', *Daily Southern Cross*, 23 January 1857, p. 3; 'New Zealand Provinces', *Nelson Examiner and New Zealand Chronicle*, 11 March 1857, p.2; 'Otago', *Wellington Independent*, 27 June 1857, p. 6.

⁷⁰ Petition to His Excellency and the Houses of Assembly from the Settlers of Murihiku, Relative to Provincial Separation, (Ordered to be printed, May 11th, 1858), Auckland: 1858. Maitaura, 2nd May, 1857, Appendix to the Journals of the House of Representatives, 1858 Session I, D-02.

⁷¹ 'Otago', *Empire*, 21 May, 1857, p. 2; 'A Southern Pactolus', *Sydney Morning Herald*, 18 June 1857, p. 3.

⁷² 'New Zealand', *Courier*, 15 June, 1857, p. 2; 'New Zealand – Otago', *Cornwall Chronicle*, 1 July, 1857, p. 3.

⁷³ 'New Zealand', *South Australian Register*, 4 July, 1857, p. 3.

⁷⁴ Letter from Gabriel Read, quoted in Pyke, Appendix B, p. 122.

Gold mining has, however, amongst its many disadvantages (and the evils attendant upon it are neither few nor slight), this advantage; it is so peculiarly attractive that it draws together a large populations who, although they may have little to do with the actual search for gold, yet tend to developed the resources of the country in other ways with a rapidity which no other cause of attraction has ever equaled. It therefore is a question of policy well worthy of the consideration of the public and the Government, whether it would not be advisable to offer an adequate reward for the discovery of an available gold field.⁷⁵

A week later - and possibly as a reaction to this - the Canterbury Provincial Council voted £500 as a bonus for the discovery of a goldfield.⁷⁶ Having made this call the *Witness* stayed mute on the subject until September, confining itself to detailing news of the development of the Aorere field. When he was finally moved to comment, Cutten returned to the subject of canvassing reasons for an official reward to spur a local industry:

The subject of gold digging is thus, as it were, forced upon the attention of the other Provinces of New Zealand; and it becomes a matter for serious consideration whether or not it is advisable to endeavour to develop the mineral resources of this Province by the offer of a reward for the discovery of an available gold field The discovery of gold would, however, be by no means an unmixed blessing. It would try the resources of a large portion of the community severely for a time but we do not imagine that it would have the momentarily injurious effect which gold discoveries had in California or Australia.....We do not anticipate that, with even very good digging, we should have anything of a rush, and we should avoid to a great extent that accumulation of questionable characters which rendered Australia and California anything but pleasant places of residence for a time....if the Nelson diggings become much more attractive, the matter will become urgent.⁷⁷

The pressure to respond to the challenge offered by the existence of the Nelson goldfield grew. Cutten now led the charge. In September 1857, the *Witness* printed a series of spoof articles and amusements of a type normally featured in *Punch*. They announced they came from a rival, *The Common-Weal* ('Printed and Published—where—when—how—and as often as the editor may think fit. Price 0d.'), which promised 'to lay before the public the truth, the whole truth, and (as an attraction to the lovers of great bargains) more than the truth'⁷⁸ and featured faux-advertisements like 'WANTED. A compositor who knows the

⁷⁵ Editorial, *Otago Witness*, 2 May 1857, p. 4.

⁷⁶ 'Canterbury', *Otago Witness*, 9 May 1857, p. 7.

⁷⁷ Editorial, *Otago Witness*, 12 September 1857, p. 4.

⁷⁸ 'The Common-Weal', *Otago Witness*, 26 September 1857, p. 3.

alphabet. Handsome encouragement will be given to one who can read MS. Do not apply at the office of this paper.' It promoted lectures concerning 'Colonial Diet for a Scotch Settlement — The respective merits of Caledonian oatmeal porridge and Anglo plum pudding, and the proper proportions of each necessary for diet and the maintenance of a healthy state in the colony' and under the heading of 'Executive Antipodean-Performances', offered lessons in 'Practice of circumlocution, with specimens of lengthy and ingenious political explanations, innocent of all meaning, and explaining nothing'.⁷⁹

In one of these columns and among the amusements, one barb found its target when the notice 'REWARD To any person who will discover a remunerative Gold Field. Apply (by Pick-lock) to the Provincial Chest'⁸⁰ appeared. It was no coincidence that the *Witness* edition featuring this challenge had an educational article headed 'How and Where gold is Found'.⁸¹ Spurred by the news of the Aorere's riches and supported by the suddenly pro-gold *Witness*, a group of local worthies called a meeting in October 1857 'for considering the best means of ascertaining if there be a remunerative Gold Field within this Province'.⁸² From this meeting came a petition signed by 138 'inhabitants of the Province'⁸³ and presented to the Provincial Council.

Immediately following receipt of this petition, the Provincial Council announced that 'A bonus of £500 for the discovery of an available Gold Field was placed on the Estimates'⁸⁴ and the *Witness* commented that 'the Government were anxious to set at rest the question whether or not there existed an available gold field in the Province.'⁸⁵ Concerned that the reward might have slipped the attention of its readers, the *Witness*' editorial in its next edition spelt out its detail and canvassed the province's recent gold history:

...last year, when Mr. Ligar, the late Surveyor-General for the colony, reported that he had found some minute specks of gold in the bed of the Mataura River. Since that period, there have been at least a dozen persons who have procured gold in small quantities in the bed and on the banks of that river....Our general supineness in this matter is somewhat to be accounted for by the fact that the greater portion of the community have freehold lands, in the cultivation of which they are entirely engaged and those who are in the labour market prefer the certainty of high wages to the

⁷⁹ 'Public Instruction and Amusement', *Otago Witness*, 3 October 1857, p. 5.

⁸⁰ 'The Common-Weal', *Otago Witness*, 26 September 1857, p. 3.

⁸¹ 'How and Where Gold is Found', *Otago Witness*, 26 September 1857, p. 3.

⁸² 'Notice of Public Meeting', *Otago Witness*, 17 October 1857, p. 4.

⁸³ Full text in Appendix 5.

⁸⁴ 'Provincial Council', *Otago Witness*, 7 November 1857, p. 2.

⁸⁵ Ibid.

risk of doing better or worse at gold digging but with a new population coming in, who, for the present, have no such ties, we should think that it was certainly worth the attention of those who are practically acquainted with gold digging, to tempt fortune and make an effort to obtain the £500 reward.⁸⁶

The Provincial Council's resolution was advertised as a notice headed '£500 REWARD' and details of requirements to qualify for it (a quantity exceeding 100 ounces being obtained) spelt out.⁸⁷ In case anyone missed this, the editorial referred to it, heading the section with the unequivocal title 'GOLD', as well as commenting on a letter from yet another surveyor which it had included in the same edition. A sample of the gold found by the surveyor was seen by the newspaperman, because he was moved to comment 'The gold is of a very pure description.'⁸⁸

The letter and gold was from Mr Surveyor Thomson's Sub-Assistant Surveyor Robert Gillies, and it contained the bluntest, most specific and enthusiastic report about gold from an Otago government official to date: 'Sir, I have the honour to inform you that gold has been found by myself and party the creek in which we have found it runs between the Waikivi and the Makerewa Bush, and enters the Makerewa at the north end of the large swamp. We have also found it in smaller particles in the Waikivi.'⁸⁹

The next report was written by Gillies' boss, Alexander Garvie. In March, 1858, he swept into town bearing gold samples with him and was interviewed by Cutten:

GOLD.

Mr. Garvie, who is engaged in surveying the upper Taieri and part of the Clutha River paid a flying visit to Dunedin during the week. He brought with him some specimens of gold which he obtained in the neighbourhood of the Dunstan Ranges.... Mr. Garvie, who was accompanied by an experienced digger, reports that they found gold in every dishful of earth they washed but as they had only a pannikin to work with, ... his companion states it as his opinion, that the prospecting would, even in Australia, be considered successful, and would justify the working of the field.⁹⁰

These government officers had an expectation of finding coal and minerals, chose companions on their expeditions who knew how to test for gold, and when they found it, they

⁸⁶ Editorial, *Otago Witness*, 5 December 1857, p. 5.

⁸⁷ Advertisements, *Otago Witness*, 12 December 1857, p. 3.

⁸⁸ Editorial, *Otago Witness*, 12 December 1857, p. 4.

⁸⁹ (Full text in Appendix 6), 'Gold', *Otago Witness*, 12 December 1857, p. 4.

⁹⁰ 'Gold', *Otago Witness*, 13 March 1858, p. 5.

brought samples with them to Dunedin, made no secret of what they had found nor where they found it and their reports were printed in full in the newspapers. Garvie's official report appeared in the *Witness*. Given the opprobrium with which this journal had previously greeted earlier gold finds, it is remarkable to see the opinion with which the editor bracketed Garvie's summary, saying

The apathy of our public upon the subject of gold is very surprising. ... Gold has undoubtedly been discovered in several places of Otago, viz., in the Mataura, in the Waiopai, in the Clutha. at the Dunstan ranges, and now in the Tuapeka and yet not one single person has made the least attempt to test the value of any of these fields, extending over many hundreds of miles. The offer of the reward of £500 has not had the slightest effect in stimulating exertion.

This report confirmed Garvie's earlier unofficial announcement: 'while engaged in the survey of Tuapeka country, one of the men belonging to my party discovered Gold to be pretty plentifully distributed even among the surface gravel near the mouth of that stream.'⁹¹ Vincent Pyke knew that there was an addendum to Garvie's report that did not make it into the public record and later explained:

In a foot-note appended to Garvie's report, Mr. [Surveyor] Thomson stated that "the best sample of gold yet brought into town was found in the Tokomairiro River (south branch). This sample indicates a workable goldfield. The exact locality referred to is better known as the Woolshed Creek, where goldmining has been carried on continuously, and at one time extensively, from 1861 to the present date. It was there that "Black Peter," otherwise Edward Peters, a native of Bombay, was in the habit of washing small quantities of gold from the sands of the river. Mr. Thomson informed me that it was Peter who had shown him the gold in 1858, and acquainted him with the place whence he obtained it."⁹²

According to the *Cyclopedia of New Zealand's* entry on Edward Peters,

In March, 1857, [Peters] went to the district under engagement to Messrs Davy and Bowler. ... Whilst on one of his sledging excursions with food to other shepherds, he crossed the Tuapeka stream the thought struck him to try for gold by scooping up some silt with that utensil, and he was rewarded with a rough speck of gold. On other occasions he found other prospects.⁹³

⁹¹ (Full text in Appendix 7) 'Gold', *Otago Witness*, 3 April 1858, p. 4.

⁹² Pyke, *History*, p. 11.

⁹³ *Cyclopedia*, 392; See also Letter from John Thomson to Vincent Pyke, Pyke, *History*, p. 95.

A completely different version of Peter's narrative is related by a descendent of William Dawson:

[Dawson], together with Edward Peters and another man, were sent by Mr. William Anderson, of Inchelutha, with a mob of sheep to find a crossing of the Molyneaux. They were unsuccessful ... and on the return journey the party camped one night at the mouth of a gully...Peters or "Black Peter," as he was commonly known, had had considerable experience of gold mining in Victoria and California and realised at once that the type of clay was a gold bearing one... About half an hour later Peters came back to the tent, and, holding out his hand, said: "I got 'im." ... Peters assured them that he had found the precious metal, and he gave his "find" to Mr. Dawson to have a ring made for his wife.⁹⁴

Given the fact that Garvie was able to produce a significant sample of gold from the area that everyone acknowledges Edward Peters was working, it seems more than likely that Peters showed the surveyor where and how he was obtaining gold and possibly gave him the sample.

In May to July of 1858, Dunedin locals with an interest in seeing their province develop organized a series of evening lectures in the school. They were treated to opinions on the best crops to grow (oats, wheat and root crops), the southern sky at night, 'phrenology and the insane' and other items of arcane interest.

In July, the school room was packed to hear Provincial Surveyor Thompson deliver his 'Lecture on the Province of Otago Its Description, Resources, and Capabilities'.⁹⁵ He illustrated his talk with a large map drawn by Survey office employee John Reid, showing the mountains, rivers and major geographical features. The text was reproduced in the *Otago Witness* of 31 July, 1858. Thompson stated '...of minerals, gold has been detected in the Mataura and very generally on the Waiopai plains, also on the Tuapika and Lindis, but its existence and remunerative quantities has not yet been made apparent'.⁹⁶ This and other reports printed by the *Witness*, caused little response. In fact it seems to have become such a generalized knowledge that a writer contributing an article in November 1858 on the subject 'Where to Settle', said in passing 'gold is undoubtedly over much of the Upper Clutha country'⁹⁷ without attracting further comment.

⁹⁴ 'Gabriel's Gully Gold "Black Peter's" Discovery', *Hutt News*, 8 July 1936, p. 2. The ring that was made by Dawson is now on display in Toitū Otago Settlers Museum. It was donated by the Dawson family in 1941.

⁹⁵ 'Lecture on the Province of Otago', *Otago Witness*, 31 July 1858, p. 6.

⁹⁶ 'Lecture on the Province of Otago', *Otago Witness*, 31 July 1858, pp. 6-7.

⁹⁷ 'Where to Settle', *Otago Witness*, 27 November 1858, p. 5.

In 1859, a year after Thomson's lecture and two years after the letters from Ligar and Garvie detailed their gold finds, an attempt was finally made to claim the reward. It is at this point in the narrative that Edward Peters emerges into the official record of the gold story of Otago. Whatever the truth of Peter's personal history, it is clear that he found gold. In 1859, he sought assistance to apply for the £500 reward from the Provincial Government, a fact that was picked up by the ever-vigilant *Witness*:

The search for an available gold-field in Otago has for some time past been allowed to sleep, and the public paid no attention to the matter.... It appears that information was given to the Waste Land Board of the discovery of gold in a different locality from any hitherto mentioned; and the person making the discovery gave notice of his intention to claim the reward of £500 offered by the Government. The claim was made by Mr. Alexander McNeil, on behalf of Edward Peters, a native of Bengal, who has for some months past been prospecting; and a sample of gold was produced, weighing $\frac{3}{4}$ of an ounce. This sample, which we have had an opportunity of inspecting, was the finest we have yet seen. It ... consisted of nuggetty gold, some of the pieces weighing about a $\frac{1}{4}$ of a dwt. This gold was found in the ranges, near Roxburgh, the residence of Mr. W. Miller, about 5 miles north-west of Meadow Bank, Tokomairiro.... the Government have considered the discovery to be of sufficient importance to warrant the withholding from sale the land in the neighbourhood until a report by competent authorities can be obtained.⁹⁸

This report, like others of a similar ground-breaking nature, was re-printed in other colonial newspapers like the *Nelson Examiner and New Zealand Chronicle*⁹⁹ and Auckland's *Daily Southern Cross*.¹⁰⁰ It was also printed in Melbourne's *Argus*¹⁰¹ and the *Portland Guardian*¹⁰² and in September, appeared in Adelaide's *South Australian Register*.¹⁰³ Unlike their New Zealand counterparts, the Australian papers accepted that Edward Peters had provably found gold, couching their news in terms that made it clear that they expected the reward to be paid. Unfortunately for Peters, this was not the case. According to William Mayhew, this application was submitted at least twice; the final one having a note scribbled on it 'Received 12th July, 1861 – Disposed of.'¹⁰⁴

⁹⁸ 'Local Intelligence', Gold, *Otago Witness*, 6 August 1859, p. 3.

⁹⁹ 'Otago', *Nelson Examiner and New Zealand Chronicle*, 10 September 1859, p. 3.

¹⁰⁰ 'Otago', *Daily Southern Cross*, 12 September 1859, p. 3.

¹⁰¹ 'New Zealand – Otago', *The Argus*, 22 August 1859, p. 7.

¹⁰² 'Otago', *Portland Guardian and Normanby General Advertiser*, 31 August 1859, p. 3.

¹⁰³ 'Otago', *South Australian Register* 3 September 1859, p. 3.

¹⁰⁴ Mayhew, *Tuapeka*, p. 22.

It would not be until 1885 that Edward Peters would be finally recognised as the pioneer prospector of the Otago goldfields, and then only after petitions by Vincent Pyke¹⁰⁵ and concerned citizens of Balclutha¹⁰⁶ (where the then ailing Peters was living), which yielded a £50 government endowment, conditional on it being matched by public subscriptions.

Gabriel Read

In September 1860 the Tasmanian Gabriel Read heard again of gold being worked in the Mataura River. Remembering that he had previously read of the locale, and in what he later admitted was spur-of-the-moment decision, in January 1861 he left Tasmania with a load of horses bound for Otago on the *Don Pedro II*.

When he arrived, news of the profitability – or otherwise – of the Mataura diggings delayed Read's prospecting, but when news broke that road builders on the Lindis Pass had found gold in April 1861,¹⁰⁷ he returned to the Tutarau.¹⁰⁸ John Hardy, a Tokomairiro farmer who briefly employed Read to help with the wheat harvest,¹⁰⁹ supplied him with the supplies he needed to go prospecting sent him off with the admonition 'What we want is a good Goldfield, and we all try to believe it is somewhere about here; and I believe if you would only try, you are the man to get it.'¹¹⁰ Hardy's neighbour knew of Edward Peter. According to Pyke,

In 1860 Mr John L. Gillies, when searching for some vagrant cattle, came upon Black Peter working for gold in a bend of the Tuapeka Stream at what is now called Evans Flat. His only implements were a tin dish and a sheath-knife, but he had found the gold. Mr Gillies stayed with him nearly all the day, and himself washed out some pennyweights of gold with the same simple appliances. When Mr Gillies returned to Tokomairiro he took this gold with him, and subsequently communicated the circumstance to Mr Gabriel Read.¹¹¹

¹⁰⁵ Vincent Pyke, 'The Story of Black Peter', *Otago Daily Times*, 28 November 1885, p. 3.

¹⁰⁶ Christina R Mitchell, Correspondence, 'The Discoverers of Gold in Otago', *Otago Witness*, 2 May 1885, p. 12.

¹⁰⁷ 'Summary', *Otago Witness*, 30 March 1861, p. 5.

¹⁰⁸ T. J. Hearn. 'Read, Thomas Gabriel', from the Dictionary of New Zealand Biography. Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand, updated 1-Sep-10, URL: <http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/biographies/1r3>

¹⁰⁹ T.S.Hardy of Waimate, *Otago Witness*, 31 March 1898, Otago Settlement Jubilee Supplementary Number 1898, p. 22.

¹¹⁰ Letter from Gabriel Read, quoted in Pyke, *History*, Appendix B, p. 122.

¹¹¹ Vincent Pyke, The Story of Black Peter, *Otago Daily Times*, 28 November 1885, p. 3.

When Read reported his find, the first real gold rush to Otago began. The Otago gold rush began and the province's demographics, landscape, finances and history changed forever.

A Conspiracy to Silence

A year after Read's history-making finds were announced, goldfields administrator, law-maker and politician Vincent Pyke (shown in FIGURE 3.1) wrote a history of the early days of the Otago gold rush, and in the process, shaped how these events - and the Provincial Government's reaction to them - are perceived by the public and historians to this day.

In his 1863 report to Otago Superintendent J. Hyde Harris, later included in a report to the *Appendices to the Journals of the House of Representatives 1863*, Pyke says 'gold was



FIGURE 3.1: Vincent Pyke's Carte de Visite, c. 1886. L. Carpenter Collection.

found in various parts of the province... But the fact was either suppressed, as likely to produce mischievous results, or neglected, as of trivial import'.¹¹² In his more expansive 1887 *History of Early Gold Discoveries*, Pyke developed this theme and wrote

peace and security were the chief objects [The Otago Settlers Association] sought when they went out from the country of their birth to seek a home and an abiding place in the remote and savage wildernesses of the Pacific. We may be quite sure that no expectation of possible Goldfields was on

¹¹² AJ HR 1863, Vincent Pyke, Report on the Goldfields of Otago, New Zealand, Dunedin, 7th of November, 1863, p. 2.

their minds when they sailed away from home and friends. There is ample evidence in the records of those early days to show that such an event as the discovery of gold was not only very far from their thoughts, but that would have been exceedingly distasteful to them if they had foreseen it.¹¹³

Pyke's choice of words, declaring that the facts of gold finds were actively suppressed and characterising all gold news as unwelcome by the governing authorities, set the tone for nearly all subsequent writing on the subject. He was no disinterested observer; in 1855 he had been catapulted into political office in Victoria by the aftermath of Eureka and was an avowed progressive liberal.¹¹⁴ He was long-known as an advocate for enfranchising miners,¹¹⁵ and this former linen-draper who crafted goldfields legislation that remains the basis for mining law in New Zealand, could be acerbic in his judgement of the provincial leaders that were his paymasters. Characterising the past actions of the government as obstructive and negative suited his liberal agenda; his stronger polemic in the 1886 writing reflects his embitterment at his treatment by the Otago administration under Thomas Dick.¹¹⁶

William Pember Reeves in his 1898 *Long White Cloud* history of New Zealand emphasised that the "good Presbyterians of Dunedin"¹¹⁷ were "thunderstruck at the news"¹¹⁸ that gold was found on their doorstep in the late 1850s, while Thomas Hocken, writing in the same year as Reeves, said of the many reported gold finds (prior to 1861)

...little heed was paid to these passing notices, and attention to them was not encouraged. The wild, roving life of the digger did not comport with the steady plodding of the Scotch community, and doubtless the leaders of the settlement fervently prayed that the day was far distant when the excitement and clamour of a gold rush should rudely upset the existing peace and quiet progress.¹¹⁹

In his 1947 *Story of Otago*, A. H. Reed echoes the sentiments of Pyke, Reeves and Hocken, commenting that when the gold dust and quartz was sent from Goodwood, 'this discovery created very little to do, in fact the news was somewhat coldly received, and no

¹¹³ Pyke, *History*, p. 2

¹¹⁴ According to Grahame Morton in his "Gold, Law, and Freemasonry", *A Biographical Analysis of Vincent Pyke as a Goldfields' Administrator in Otago, 1862-1867*, (Unpublished Bachelor of Arts (Honours) essay, University of Otago, October 1994), p. 3, Pyke's *Southern Mercury* newspaper was produced 'with the intention of serving the popular cause' in its commentary on news events.

¹¹⁵ Morton, p. 9.

¹¹⁶ Morton, pp. 94-96.

¹¹⁷ William Pember Reeves, *The Long White Cloud*, (London, Bradford and Dickens, 1898), p. 228.

¹¹⁸ *ibid*, p. 227.

¹¹⁹ Hocken T.M., *Contributions to the Early History of New Zealand (Settlement of Otago)* (London: Sampson Low, Marston and Company, 1898), p. 198.

official steps were taken to prospect the neighbourhood. The fathers of the settlement were not desirous of having its respectability endangered by a gold rush'.¹²⁰ In the same volume, in the chapter headed 'The Golden Age', Reed opines 'Captain Cargill looked distrustfully at the yellow metal. It was not that he doubted its genuineness, but that neither he nor his Free Church stalwarts had any desire for the settlement to be enriched at the expense of the invasion of order of godless adventurers from overseas.'¹²¹

A.H. McClintock came to a different conclusion to the earlier historians' efforts in his *History of Otago* and is alone in concluding that (at least in the early years of Otago) Cargill as not totally opposed to gold:

in 1850 Cargill, who at this gloomy stage and the history of the settlement was perhaps anxious to extol its manifold resources, reported that persons who had penetrated a little way to the west of the Taieri Plain had discovered "quartzose formations to a considerable extent, with indications of minerals."¹²²

However McClintock declares that these and similar reports 'were studiously ignored by leaders and settlers alike', but found a mood change in the mid-1850s, which saw Cargill and the other leaders retreat from 'talking up' their province's opportunities to a position where they were 'fighting a desperate battle to restrict emigration from "undesirable" sources. Thus the thought of the discovery of the goldfield, with its inevitable and dreaded cosmopolitanism, conjured up a picture not to be contemplated without alarm'.¹²³ McLintock's analysis is echoed in June Wood's *Gold Trails of Otago*, Geoffrey Duff's *Sheep May Safely Graze* and Tony Nolan's *Romantic World of Gold*.¹²⁴

13 years after his *Story of Otago*, A H Reed wrote *The Story of Early Dunedin*, in which he reflects Pyke's conclusions, stating that when the Mataura field was first opened 'the editor, no doubt voicing the views of Cargill and the Provincial Council, deprecated any general rush in search of gold, urging that wild speculation would result in withdrawal of the needed labour from town and farm lands, involving loss and inconvenience to the community

¹²⁰ Reed, *Otago*, p. 195.

¹²¹ Reed, *Otago*, p. 228.

¹²² The *Otago Journal*, Number VII, May, 1851. General Topography of Otago, pp. 99 - 100, quoted in A.H. McLintock, *The History of Otago* (Dunedin, Otago Centennial Historical Publications, 1949), p. 440; The Report was printed in full by the *Otago News*, 22 June 1850, p. 4.

¹²³ McClintock, *History*, p. 441.

¹²⁴ June A Wood, *Gold Trails of Otago*, (Wellington, Reed, 1970), p. 4; G.P. Duff, *Sheep May Safely Graze – the Story of Morven Hills Station & the Tarras District* (Tarras, John McIndoe Ltd, 1978), p. 64; Tony Nolan, *The Romantic World of Gold*, (Wellington, Reed, 1980), p. 63.

and individuals'.¹²⁵ Reed emphasises the change in tone and approach with the decision to offer a reward in 1857, but characterises the Provincial Council responding to public demands 'for the localities where gold prospecting and working would be likely to give the best results' with 'an implacable impassivity'.¹²⁶

In 1963, in the *History of Gold-Mining in New Zealand*, J.H.M. Salmon noted that 'neither the large leaseholder nor the individualist miner was in tune with the spirit of the founding fathers of Otago'.¹²⁷ Erik Olssen locates Burns and Cargill's opposition to gold as rooted in an explicitly religious grounding but makes no accusation of a suppression of gold finds:

gold brought thousands of footloose, single, drinking, whoring, gambling young men; it scattered the population beyond the reaches of the Kirk ; it might also bring with it thousands of Catholic Irishmen ... Gold miners pursued pleasure unredeemed by moral purpose. Worse, gold rewarded the gambler and fostered a gambling spirit, enthroned Mammon in God's seat.¹²⁸

In the *Reed Illustrated History of New Zealand*, Matthew Wright echoes Salmon's approach but in his *Old South*, mirrors Olssen's view:

as far as the ascetic, tempered, law-abiding Dunedin settlers were concerned, James Marshall's discovery of gold at Coloma turned the American West into a firment of lawless brigands and fortune hunters. The threat to Dunedin's faltering Presbyterian idyll seemed clear; and local authorities were eager to cast gold miners in the worst possible light – their life a moral confluence of sins, of which subjugation to Mammon was the least evil.¹²⁹

John Hall-Jones picks up the theme first explored by Pyke, declaring that 'reports of gold... were suppressed by the Conservative Superintendent of Otago, Captain William Cargill, who feared that a major gold rush would lead to mischievous results'.¹³⁰ The most determined polemic alleging activist political intervention aimed at the suppression of gold finds by a ruling class is found in Stevan Eldred-Grigg's *Diggers Hatters & Whores*:

¹²⁵ A.H. Reed, *The Story of Early Dunedin*, (Wellington, Reed, 1956), p. 258.

¹²⁶ Reed, *Dunedin*, p. 259.

¹²⁷ J.H.M. Salmon, *A History of Gold Mining in New Zealand* (Wellington, New Zealand Government Printer, 1963), p.45; this is echoed in Matthew Wright, *Reed Illustrated History of New Zealand*, (Auckland, Reed Books, 2004), p. 167.

¹²⁸ Eric Olsen, *A History of Otago*, (Dunedin, John McIndoe Ltd, 1984), p. 56.

¹²⁹ M.Wright, *Old South*, (Auckland, Penguin, 2009), p. 163.

¹³⁰ J. Hall-Jones, *Goldfields of Otago – an Illustrated History* (Invercargill, Craig Printing Co, 2005), p. 7.

as long as the province stayed under the sway of a Conservative leadership word of gold would not be heard widely. Landowners quashed news of nuggets, or at least did their best to do so, while they held power. Gold was seen by them, rightly, as a threat to their flocks, their landholdings, their wealth and the dignity.¹³¹

Continuing in this vein, Eldred-Grigg declares ‘the royal metal was found once more in 1853, this time at Mount Hyde, and once more the news was damped down by the governing clique’¹³² and suggests an active suppression with Ligar’s report, suggesting that ‘Cargill handled the report skilfully. Talking it down when it was brought before the Provincial Council’.¹³³ This serves the class warfare trope for this writer’s historicising of the rush in his book, but is at variance with the evidence.

Vincent Pyke set the tone and other historians have followed, probably under the conclusion that if Pyke - who is widely-regarded as having overseen the development of Otago as a gold province - drew the conclusion that the newspapers and government suppressed news of gold, then it must be correct. However this ignores the fact that Vincent Pyke arrived in Dunedin in April 1862¹³⁴ and was appointed to the position of Goldfields Commissioner in late May 1862,¹³⁵ nearly a year after Gabriel Read announced his gold find at the Tuapeka. Anything in Pyke’s writing occurring prior to this required him to seek out information or rely on what was a fairly scant and haphazard documentary source. As such, what is written by Pyke then represents this articulate, passionate, thorough, yet highly-opinionated amateur administrator/politician/historian’s best efforts to collate, edit and construct a single narrative of the early days of gold finding in Otago. His writing is not error-free and should not be treated as inviolate by modern historians.

An Unsuppressed History

As I have demonstrated throughout this chapter, *nothing* was suppressed. It is a move of rare ineptitude that seeks on one hand to hide letters and reports from the general view, and on the other to allow those same letters to be printed verbatim in the newspapers. If anyone can read the Otago newspaper articles and any newspaper around the country – or indeed, around the world – can reprint these in full, as happened in Otago, then there is no conspiracy of silence.

¹³¹ S. Eldred-Grigg, *Diggers Hatters and Whores* (Auckland: Random House, 2008), p. 66.

¹³² Eldred-Grigg, *Diggers*, p. 67.

¹³³ Eldred-Grigg, *Diggers*, p. 67.

¹³⁴ ‘Arrival of the “Aldinga” from Melbourne’, *Otago Daily Times*, 26 April 1862, p. 3.

¹³⁵ ‘Organisation of the Gold Fields Department’, *Otago Daily Times*, 28 May 1862, p. 4.

These conclusions are supported by A.P.F. Browne, who in his Master's thesis *The Otago Goldfields, 1861 – 1863: Administration and Public Life* notes that 'there was no active discouragement' and characterises writing suggesting otherwise unequivocally: 'myths however die hard, and this particular one is still being perpetuated'.¹³⁶

The Otago Provincial Government did not want a gold rush; that is clear. The editor of the *Otago Witness* began by sharing their view, which is just as clear. But to suggest agency on the part of the regional government to conspire to withhold information about goldfields when the press had no such restrictions flies in the face of the evidence.

Browne offers a compelling argument for the delayed development of the gold rush, noting that before the passing of the Goldfields Act of 1858, miners attempting to go onto a sheep station lessee's land would be trespassing, and going onto Māori reserves was problematic. Additionally, he uses criteria from Geoffrey Blainey's *A Theory of Mineral Discovery: Australia in the Nineteenth Century*¹³⁷ to suggest that a combination of a sparsely-settled interior of Otago, an almost total lack of expertise and experience on the part of the prospectors poking around the Maitai and Tokomairiro and the fact that booming grain and wool exports, good land sales, low unemployment and relatively high wages, all offered little incentive to seek gold in the late 1850s. By contrast, the recession of early 1861, marked by low land sales, a 24.7 per cent decrease in wool exports, a 75 per cent fall in grain volumes and rising unemployment in the towns¹³⁸ created the right environment for gold finds to blossom into a fully-fledged rush. The sporadic – and increasing – gold finds around the province, plus the benign encouragement of the newspaper editors created a heightened awareness of gold and, when Read announced his finds, his audience were ready, willing and (with Read's tuition) able to exploit a field once one was found.

What it needed was an expert to come to Otago and find gold in such quantities that no-one could argue against it as a proven fact. Road-builder and former Australian miner Samuel McIntyre found gold in the Lindis Pass on McLean's Morven Hills Station¹³⁹, but its remoteness from Dunedin in an unexplored corner of the province, (illustrated by the fact that the *Witness* initially struggled to accurately locate where it was)¹⁴⁰ and most importantly, its

¹³⁶ A.P.F. Browne, *The Otago Goldfields, 1861 – 1863: Administration and Public Life*, Unpublished Master's Thesis in History, University of Canterbury, 1974, p. 3.

¹³⁷ G. Blainey, 'A Theory of Mineral Discovery: Australia in the Nineteenth Century', *Economic History Review*, 23:2, 1970, pp. 298-313.

¹³⁸ Browne, *Otago Goldfields*, pp. 5-7.

¹³⁹ 'Summary', *Otago Witness*, 30 March 1861, p. 5.

¹⁴⁰ 'Local Intelligence', *Otago Witness*, 6 April 1861, p. 5.

lack of gold - when compared with Read's Tuapeka finds - meant it did not attract a significant rush.

It is not widely appreciated that when Read wrote his letter, which was published in the *Otago Witness* of June 8, 1861, to announce that he had found gold, even he was not taken seriously.¹⁴¹ As late as June 29, stories were rife of would-be miners from Dunedin travelling to the Tuapeka and returning empty-handed, and as far as it being a proven field, the *Witness* harboured doubts, saying 'the evidence is extremely conflicting, but upon the whole is decidedly confirmatory of the gold fields being of a paying character',¹⁴² although the same edition carried a letter from local settler James McIndoe detailing how, from where and what quantity of gold he had recovered on a trip lasting a few days there.¹⁴³ In another article, a meeting of the Dunedin unemployed revealed just how far the authorities had to go to convince the general populace that there was a real gold field at Tuapeka when speakers at the meeting 'denounced the reports of the Gold Diggings, which had appeared in the public prints, as humbug, and got up by the Government and other interested parties, for their own advancement'.¹⁴⁴ It took reports of local finding gold in vast quantities to wake the locals up to the fact that a gold rush of the type celebrated at California, New South Wales and Victoria was on their doorstep, and that they could be a part of it.

The famous *Otago Witness* editorial headline of July 6 1861, which begins 'Gold, Gold, Gold, is the universal subject of conversation' was published a full month after Read's letter was received, and by the newspaper's own admission, was written less than a week into the first blush of a genuine 'rush' and then only after gold had been secured in such vast quantities by Gabriel Read and others that the facts of the matter were incontrovertibly proved.

Otago had a goldfield, and the official report by Surveyor J.T. Thomson confirmed it a week later with an official report on the pound-weight hauls of some of the first miners to arrive at the new field.¹⁴⁵

A Common Phenomenon

¹⁴¹ 'Tokomairiro Gold Fields – New Discoveries', *Otago Witness*, 8 June 1861, p. 5.

¹⁴² 'Local Intelligence', *Otago Witness*, 29 June 1861, p. 4.

¹⁴³ Original Correspondence, *Otago Witness*, 29 June 1861, p. 5.

¹⁴⁴ 'Public Meeting of the Unemployed', *Otago Witness*, 29 June 1861, p. 10.

¹⁴⁵ J.T. Thomson, 'Official Report on the Tuapeka Gold Fields', *Otago Witness*, 13 July 1861, p. 5.

Taken in isolation, the historians' analysis of the gold finds in early colonial Otago concludes a level of concern, of (at best) disinterest, or at worst, a conspiracy to suppress by the governing class, the 'Old Identity' of Thatcher's songs. After all, when gold was first found at California and in Australia, the first gold prospectors created a sensation and their finds sparked a gold rush, didn't they?

In this discussion of Otago's golden past prior to the arrival of Gabriel Read, I have examined the many instances of gold being found – but not acted on – for four decades. But this is not, as some appear to think, a purely New Zealand – or Otago – phenomenon.

(i) California

In California, the accepted story of the beginning of the gold rush has James Marshall finding gold in a newly-constructed water race at his employer John Sutter's mill in Coloma on the morning of January 24, 1848.

But this is wrong.

Guy Giffen's research has yielded a chain of not-quite-substantiated-but-persistent stories of Californian gold finds across four centuries, beginning when Sir Francis Drake's clerk hinted that they found gold on the coast in 1579 and Spanish explorer Sebastian Vizcaino reported possibilities of gold in a report to his king in 1602, while Russians were reputedly aware of gold there in 1814, a General Vallejo saw Lieutenant Antonio del Valle trading in gold in around 1820 and in 1825 Jedediah Smith found gold near Mono Lake.¹⁴⁶ Donald Cutter describes Californian gold being found in 1816, in 1828 at Delores, New Mexico and in 1838 on Tuerto Creek a town of 4000 people rushed to work the gold found there.¹⁴⁷

Historian Richard H. Peterson has uncovered evidence to suggest that Padre Luis Antonio Martinez of Mission San Luis Obispo operated a small gold mine in his district in 1829¹⁴⁸ and firmer evidence exists for the suggestion that gold was being found in the 1830s, especially given a receipt at the Philadelphia mint recording 851 oz., 63 dwt. of 'California native grains' (placer/alluvial gold) dated January 30, 1838 and supplied by a New York

¹⁴⁶ G.J. Giffen, 'California Gold', *The Quarterly: Historical Society of Southern California*, Vol. 30, No. 1 (March 1948), p. 23.

¹⁴⁷ Donald C. Cutter, 'Some Musings on the Gold Rush and Its Hispanic Heritage', *The Western Historical Quarterly*, Vol. 30, No. 4, 1999, p. 430.

¹⁴⁸ R.H. Peterson, 'James Marshall: California's Gold Discoverer', Weider History Group's Historynet website, <http://www.historynet.com/james-marshall-californias-gold-discoverer.htm#comments>.

trading firm with links to Californian traders. On March 9, 1841, Californian vaquero Francisco Lopez found good gold deposits in the San Feliciano Canyon,¹⁴⁹ and ‘William Heath Davis, an early pioneer, estimated that \$80,000 to \$100,000 in gold was taken from the mines in the first two years and Hubert Howe Bancroft, stated that by December 1843, 2000 ounces had been taken, valued at \$38,000.’¹⁵⁰ Cutter notes that the existence of gold in California was officially notified by Thomas Larkin, the US Vice-Consul at Monterey in a dispatch to Secretary of State James Buchanan in March 1846.¹⁵¹

No-one suggests a cover-up; the historians simply conclude that a combination of questions over Californian sovereignty, a lack of clarity around mineral law and an absence of skill among the population contributed to a pervasive ignorance of the riches that lay in the gravels at their feet. Ralph Bieber also found that contrary to legend, even those present when Marshall found gold at Sutter’s Mill were reluctant to cease their regular work due to pervasive doubt that there existed sufficient gold to justify giving up regular work to seek it, and it was only when people found isolated rich pockets of gold in the ensuing six to eight weeks that a general excitement erupted.¹⁵²

(ii) Australia

In the same way, the history of gold-finding at Australia has the Hargraves discovery at Ophir as its foundational gold find, although unlike California, when this was declared his claim was immediately challenged by those who had accompanied him.¹⁵³

The first gold-finder in Australia was a surveyor, James O’Brien, who saw ‘numerous particles of gold’ in 1823 near the Fish River (east of Bathurst) and as their contemporaries were doing across the Tasman Sea, for a few decades before the rush, farm workers and shepherds were in the habit of picking up pieces of gold and small nuggets from streams near

¹⁴⁹ J. M. Guinn, ‘The Gold Placers of Los Angeles’, *Annual Publication of the Historical Society of Southern California*, Vol. 8, No. 3(1911), pp. 228-233; Donald C. Cutter, ‘Some Musings on the Gold Rush and Its Hispanic Heritage’, *The Western Historical Quarterly*, Vol. 30, No. 4, 1999, p. 430.

¹⁵⁰ Donald C. Cutter, ‘The Discovery of Gold in California’, [in] *Geologic Guidebook Along Highway 49 – Sierran Gold Belt – The Mother Lode Country: California Division of Mines Bulletin 141*, 1948, p. 13-17.

¹⁵¹ Donald C. Cutter, ‘Some Musings on the Gold Rush and Its Hispanic Heritage’, *The Western Historical Quarterly*, Vol. 30, No. 4, 1999, p. 430.

¹⁵² Ralph P. Bieber, ‘California Gold Mania’, *The Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, Vol. 35, No. 1, 1948, p. 4.

¹⁵³ D. Hill, *Gold! The Fever That Changed Australia*, (Sydney, Heineman, 2010), pp. 23-34; See also the Victorian Government website ‘The Gold Rush’: <http://www.victoria.org.au/the%20gold%20rush.htm> accessed 29 March 2013.

where they worked.¹⁵⁴ In 1842, James Gumm lived in the Plenty Ranges in what would become the state of Victoria, finding sufficient gold to earn the nick-name ‘Gumm the Gold-hunter’ and was the first of what Robin Annear calls ‘a small band of proto-diggers who conveyed precious consignments to town in their handkerchief corners’, finding gold in an area where its presence was ‘an open secret’.¹⁵⁵ Explorer Paul de Strezlecki discovered gold in the Victorian Alps in 1839 and William Campbell found gold on his sheep run in Strathloddan, Victoria, in 1840.¹⁵⁶

In 1841, clergyman William Clarke found auriferous quartz near Hartley, inland from Sydney, and upon showing his best sample to Governor Gipps in 1844 was famously told ‘Put it away, Mr Clarke, or we shall all have our throats cut’.¹⁵⁷ de Strezlecki’s correspondence outlining his findings led Scottish geologist Roderick Murchison to predict gold in Australia in scientific papers he delivered in 1844 and 1846, and when talking with unemployed Cornish tin miners in 1846, urged them to emigrate and search for gold in New South Wales’ mountains.¹⁵⁸ Gold was also discovered at Montecue, South Australia, in 1846¹⁵⁹; a brief article appeared in the *Maitland Mercury and Hunter River General Advertiser* in July, 1848 under the heading ‘Gold’ which detailed how a person had arrived in town with ‘a paper full of gold dust’¹⁶⁰ (and which occasioned no further comment) and in 1848 William Tipple Smith openly displayed a large chunk of rich quartz he had bought off a shepherd, who found it near Bathurst. One year later, a young shepherd boy called Chapman found 38 ounces of gold on Glenmona station near modern Amherst and created a brief rush, which was subsequently broken up on the orders of governor La Trobe.¹⁶¹

Geoffery Blainey notes in *The Rush that Never Ended* that ‘historians have long insisted that ... the governors prevented the rise of gold-mining ... and that there could be no

¹⁵⁴ G. Blainey, *The Rush That Never Ended – a History of Australian Mining*, (Melbourne, Melbourne UP, 1963), pp. 5-6.

¹⁵⁵ R. Annear, *Nothing but Gold – the Diggers of 1852*, (Melbourne, Text, 1999), p. 3.

¹⁵⁶ SBS Channel – *Gold: Early Gold Discoveries*, Website <http://www.sbs.com.au/gold/story.php?storyid=25> accessed 29 March 2013.

¹⁵⁷ Ann Mozley, ‘Clarke, William Branwhite (1798–1878)’, Australian Dictionary of Biography, National Centre of Biography, Australian National University, <http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/clarke-william-branwhite-3228/text4865>, accessed 29 March 2013.

¹⁵⁸ Archibald Geikie, *Life of Sir Roderick I. Murchison: Based on his Journals and Letters With Notices of His Scientific Contemporaries and a Sketch of the Rise and Growth of Paleozoic Geology in Britain* (London, John Murray, 1875), pp. 134-136; ‘Sir Roderick I. Murchison, (from *Men of the Time*)’, *Press*, 13 December 1871, p. 3; Roderick Impey Murchison, Correspondence, *Sydney Morning Herald*, 24 July 1875, p. 5.

¹⁵⁹ SBS Channel – *Gold: Early Gold Discoveries*, Website <http://www.sbs.com.au/gold/story.php?storyid=25>, accessed 29 March 2013.

¹⁶⁰ ‘Gold’, *Maitland Mercury and Hunter River General Advertiser*, 19 July 1848, p. 4.

¹⁶¹ Blainey, *Rush*, p.11.

gold rushes until the governors relented’, but he concludes that ‘the evidence for an official ban on gold mining is weak’¹⁶² and locates the main reason for the hesitation to develop a goldfield in the retention of archaic English laws vesting ownership in the crown.¹⁶³

Conclusion: A Class War?

Suggestions of a conspiracy to silence gold finds or to somehow rob the less-wealthy amongst the new settlers in Otago of the opportunity of earning riches by exploiting the gold reserves retrospectively creates a class war where none existed.

The influence of religion on the thinking of the leaders in the new settlement of Dunedin cannot be underestimated, and as Matthew Wright and Erik Olssen¹⁶⁴ have outlined, it was their fear of the corrupting influence of gold and the behaviour it engendered which led them – and the newspapers they influenced – to highlight the worst of the gold rushes in other parts of the world.

The leaders and editors saw, in contemplating a local gold rush, the worst aspects of the commercial and industrial world they left behind in Britain, and none of the opportunity to construct the ideal, God-fearing society which good, honest toil would create. Such levels of paternalism appear anachronistic and an anathema with one and one-half century’s hindsight, but for a new, marginal settlement, in a colony at the farthest corner of the British empire, their fear of the drastic consequences of choosing badly must have weighed heavily on their minds and this influenced how they viewed gold (and the social disorder that brought). Nevertheless to accuse them of deceitful suppression of information and participation in a conspiracy to silence gold finds is wrong.

¹⁶² Blainey, *Rush*, p.8.

¹⁶³ Blainey, *Rush*, p.6.

¹⁶⁴ M.Wright, *Old South*, (Auckland, Penguin, 2009), p. 163; Eric Olsen, *A History of Otago*, (Dunedin, John McIndoe Ltd, 1984), p. 56.

Rich in Myth, Gold and Narrative: Aspects of the Central Otago Gold Rush, 1862-2012

SECTION TWO – A Local History of Industrialisation

Chapter 4

Introduction

... just look around and you'll quickly behold –
The magical changes effected by gold;
We keep shifting about, and a fellow's perplexed,
The question is – where shall we have to rush next?¹

Contrary to the writing in modern histories, when gold was found in North Carolina in 1828, the excitement was described as a 'gold fever' raging,² not a gold 'rush.' When the first reports of California appeared in Honolulu's *Polynesian* newspaper in July 1848, they reported 'the California *alias* gold fever is beginning to rage with unprecedented fury among the denizens of our town.'³ In their next edition, they collated reports to detail how 'the *yellow fever* increases daily,'⁴ adding a second article headed 'Gold Fever' which said 'there has been a perfect rush upon our office for notices of intention to depart the kingdom during the past week. The mania has invaded our sanctum... Our printers think picking up type nothing compared to picking up gold; but they are sensible fellows and we entertain hopes of pacifying them.' The editor then ruefully described:

The first symptoms of the fever is a restless sensation – an excited state of the system – a wild expression of the eye – and light and elastic tread. These symptoms are followed with a desire to obtain implements the digging and

¹ Charles R. Thatcher, 'Olden Days at Lake Wakatipu' in Robert Hoskins, *Goldfield Balladeer*, (Auckland, Collins, 1977), p. 169.

² 'Golden Days', *American Sentinel*, 17 September 1828, quoted by Anonymous Internet Blog *Gold Rush Stories*, <http://camcca.wordpress.com/language-of-the-gold-rush/> updated October 2011, accessed March, 2013.

³ Editorial, *The Polynesian*, 1 July 1848, p. 27; 'The Gold Fever', *The Polynesian*, 8 July 1848, p. 31. (Emphasis in original)

⁴ Editorial, *The Polynesian*, 15 July 1848, p. 34. (Emphasis in original)

washing gold – an effort to pay all debts and obtain a passport – a rush for the “first boat,” when the sufferer quietly passes out of the kingdom.⁵

This report changed Australasian history. It was reprinted in December 1848 by the *New Zealander* and the *Wellington Independent* and in Australia in the *Sydney Morning Herald*, *Maitland Mercury* and *Hunter River General Advertiser*, Melbourne’s *Argus*, the *Moreton Bay Courier* and in Hobart’s *Courier*.⁶ This was the first news New Zealanders and Australians had of California and it caused a sensation: the prospect of slowly and steadily earning a living with a view to eventually purchasing land paled at the thought of picking up instant riches from the gravels of a Californian stream, so residents quickly booked passage for San Francisco.

In America, newspaper readers on the east coast had to wait for news of California to travel, but in the meantime they had their own ‘gold fever’. The *New York Tribune* boasted of Virginia, ‘the Gold Region of the United States’ and discussed the goldfields of North Carolina and Georgia,⁷ but when the first reports from the west coast arrived in the seaports a ‘Californian fever’ erupted and wiped all thoughts of a local gold fever from the collective consciousness. Newspapers as diverse as *The Examiner* (Louisville, Kentucky) and the *Vermont Phoenix* (Brattleboro, Vermont), reprinted the excited prose of *The Polynesian*’s July 15 edition,⁸ but apart from one October, 1849 editorial in the *Sunbury American* which said ‘in these days of rushing after gold...’,⁹ few thought in terms of a ‘rush’.

In contrast to the Americans, in the pages of Australia’s ‘rushing for gold’ became *de rigueur*, not ‘gold fever’. The *Sydney Morning Herald*, in its second comment on the events in California talked of ‘the fearful ravages of a terrible fever which has nearly depopulated all the seaport towns, and caused a general rush to the interior. It is not exactly the yellow fever, but a fever for a yellow substance called gold.’¹⁰ The *Goulburn Herald* said ‘a gold region has been discovered ... and all California is rushing thither to dig.’¹¹ American historian Frances Palmer found just one use of ‘rush’ in July 1848 and notes in addition to the ‘gold

⁵ ‘Gold Fever’, *The Polynesian*, 15 July 1848, pp. 34-35.

⁶ ‘California’, (from the *Polynesian*, July 15), *New Zealander*, 2 December 1848, p. 3; *Wellington Independent*, 16 December 1848, p. 4; *Sydney Morning Herald*, 23 December 1848, p. 3; *Maitland Mercury and Hunter River General Advertiser*, 27 December 1848, p. 4; *Argus* (Melbourne), 5 January 1849, p. 3; *Moreton Bay Courier*, 6 January 1849, p. 3; *Courier* (Hobart), 10 January 1849, p. 3.

⁷ ‘Virginia – the Gold Region’, *New York Tribune*, 3 August 1848, p. 2.

⁸ ‘Gold in California’, *The Examiner*, 23 September 1848, p. 3; ‘Gold Fever in California’, *Vermont Phoenix*, 29 September 1848, p. 3.

⁹ ‘John Bunyan’s Silver Mine’, *Sunbury American*, 13 October 1849, p. 1.

¹⁰ ‘The New Gold Country’ (from *The Polynesian*, June 24), *Sydney Morning Herald*, 4 January 1849, p. 2.

¹¹ ‘New Gold Mine’, *Goulburn Herald and County of Argyll Advertiser*, 6 January 1849, p. 4.

fever,' an earlier preference for 'gold mania' and 'mining fever' in 1844, 'gold cholic' and 'gold excitement' in 1848 and finally 'gold crusade' and 'gold stampede' in 1858.¹² Ralph Bieber concludes that in 1848 and 1849 and suggested that even into the early 1850s what is now called 'the rush' was more generally called 'California fever,' 'yellow fever,' 'Californian mania' and the 'gold mania'.¹³

When Australian gold was found, the editors and correspondents were unequivocal; it was a gold 'rush'. In the first example, a May 1851 correspondent to the *Sydney Morning Herald* wrote 'of the recent gold discovery, and general "rush to the diggings" by all classes of the community.'¹⁴ By August 1851, styling the mass migration of miners as a 'rush' became the standard expression,¹⁵ confirmed by Chief Justice William à Beckett's speech at the opening of the Victoria Criminal Sessions for March which discussed the 'rush' to Ballarat and Mount Alexander, lamented the spread of the 'gold mania' and called on government, educational and judicial institutions to maintain veneration for law, order, and religion.¹⁶

Gold Rush Behaviour

Heinrich Lienhard, the Swiss gardener who worked for Sutter (the Californian mill owner where gold was found in February, 1848) wrote 'exciting rumours began to spread with the rapidity of a great epidemic. Everyone was infected, and, as it spread, peace and quiet vanished. To all appearances men seemed to have gone insane, or to have suddenly lost some

¹² Francis W Palmer, 'Gold Rush Language', *American speech*, Vol. 43, No. 2, 1968, p. 85. Palmer found its first use on 1 July 1848: 'the whole country is on a rush – in a ferment.' in *Southern Trails to California* in Ralph P. Bieber (Ed.), *South-West Historical Series*, Vol. V, 1937 p. 80; Ralph P. Bieber, 'California Gold Mania', *The Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, Vol. 35, No. 1, 1948, p. 3.

¹³ Ralph P. Bieber, 'California Gold Mania', *The Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, Vol. 35, No. 1, 1948, p. 3.

¹⁴ Humanitas, Correspondence, *Sydney Morning Herald*, 26 May 1851, p. 3.

¹⁵ See (in sequence of appearance) 'O'Connell Plains', *Sydney Morning Herald*, 13 August 1851, p. 3; 'Government Land Sales', *Geelong Advertiser*, 14 October 1851, p. 2; 'Wide Awake,' Correspondence, *South Australian Register*, 15 November 1851, p. 3; Henry Marshall, Correspondence, 14 January 1852, p. 3; 'Victoria Gold Field, Mount Alexander', *Goulburn Herald and County of Argyll Advertiser*, 19 June 1852, p. 3; 'Latest News from the Victoria Diggings', *South Australian Register*, 5 August 1852, p. 2; A Home View of Our Goldfields', *Geelong Advertiser and Intelligencer*, 7 September 1852, p. 2; 'Melbourne Gold Circular', *The Argus*, 13 December 1852, p. 4, and many others.

¹⁶ William à Beckett (excerpts of speech), Social Consequences of the Gold Discovery, *Bathurst Free Press and Mining Journal*, 24 March 1852, p. 2.

of their five senses.’¹⁷ In his sociological analysis of ‘Adventurism and the California Gold Rush’, Gary Hamilton found that

the gold rush had an important collective component, so much so that the gold rush can be seen as a competitive race to the goldfields. Rumour piled upon rumour, supplemented by eyewitness accounts appearing in newspapers, produced the promise of great wealth for the first ones to arrive at the gold fields. The urge to be first in the race to California created a gold mania.¹⁸

Such descriptions fed the image of the gold miner as rootless and footloose. When he was deciding what to do about rumours of a rich field at the Buckland, near the Snowy Mountains in 1855 William Howitt ruefully commented

there is no rest for the soul of the diggers foot.... the now excessive number of diggers are at their wit’s end, and on tiptoe ready to be off in any direction when rumour promises a fresh field.... The rush and struggle is awful, and the only chance is to fly off at the first sound, and keep a-head of the careering tide.... There are thousands of men at the diggings ready to start at a moment’s notice, and having neither baggage nor good luck to detain them. At the first whisper, therefore, of a new field, they shoulder their picks and shovels, and their swags, and stalk away with all speed they can put forth.¹⁹

That misguided or precipitous rushes could have disastrous results was manifest when the bizarre Port Curtis, Queensland rush occurred in 1858. In an editorial headed ‘Wealth for Honest Labour’ the editor of the *Wellington Independent* commented ‘All rush forward ... on what slender information the stampede of gold diggers took place.’²⁰ These colonial newspapers had a peculiar ambiguity in their reporting; on one hand they exhibited pastoral concern that good jobs and steady incomes should not be thrown up on the possibility of riches in a new goldfield, while on the other they fanned the flames of the ‘rush’ conflagration by detailing the extraordinary riches found by the first miners to the new area. Later reports attempted restraint by adding ameliorative realism like ‘but these are the prizes bearing about the same proportion to the blanks as do the prizes in a common lottery,’ but they created the very rush behaviour that they were cautioning against. When New South

¹⁷ Heinrich Lienhard in Marguerite E. Wilbur (ed. and trans.), *A Pioneer at Sutter's Fort, 1846-1850. The Adventures of Heinrich Lienhard*, (Los Angeles, 1941), p. 119, quoted in Ralph P. Bieber, ‘California Gold Mania’, *The Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, Vol. 35, No. 1, 1948, p. 7.

¹⁸ Gary G Hamilton, ‘The Structural Sources of Adventurism: the Case of the California Gold Rush’, *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 83, No. 6, 1978, p. 1475.

¹⁹ Howitt, pp. 138 – 141.

²⁰ Editorial, *Wellington Independent*, 10 November 1858, p. 2.

Wales' Snowy River goldfield was revealed as producing over 30,000 ounces of gold from less than 2000 miners, Melbourne's *Leader* was moved to comment:

under the most seductive attractions, our Victorians are ... ever too desirous of quitting the substance for the shadow. The speculative character of a good miner's pursuit invariably produces a degree of restlessness and want of fixity of purpose most injurious to the prospects of the individual and permanent settlement of the country.... Few will deny that a large portion of our population are still living from day to day in the hope of a new rush; still fewer will be disposed to controvert the assertion that an increasing number of active inhabitants are extremely dissatisfied with the prospects, and equally as anxious as the treasure hunting neighbours for some alteration of employment.²¹

Similar invective against headlong 'rushing' was repeated in the New Zealand papers, especially when a sober appraisal of the Aorere was concluded in 1860. Reports of a new rush were met by the editor of Nelson's *Colonist* with less of the innocent enthusiasm which characterised its early reports of the new field there: 'I would be very sorry to see a number of labourers ... become dupes for a second false report of what is being done at the diggings, without the least expectation of seeing them realised.... I would not advise any man to go on the supposition that [the Waikoromumu] is a really good payable goldfield.'²²

The restraint of Australian editors was cast aside when the prospect of losing miners to Otago became apparent and when miners found a nugget valued at £1300 in the district of Kingower, they were quick to suggest that the rush there 'certainly will afford more attractions than New Zealand to the fortune seeking miner.'²³ In an example of associative referencing some Australian newspapermen resorted to making comparisons involving the infamous 'duffer' rushes of Port Curtis (Queensland) and Kiandra (Victoria) with Otago, implying that leaving what they termed 'proven' wealth on the Victorian goldfields for the questionable New Zealand field was as great a folly as these had been.²⁴ The rush to the Tuapeka for these Australian writers was characterised as a mania without foundation and logic, while the newest local Australian rushes somehow emerging through a revisionist re-historicising as logical, understandable and the product of wise miners.

²¹ 'The Coming Exodus to the Snowy River', (from the "*Leader*"), *Daily Southern Cross*, 19 June 1860, p. 3.

²² 'Takaka Diggings', *Colonist*, 7 August 1860, p. 3.

²³ 'Victoria', (ex- *Kyneton Observer*), *Daily Southern Cross*, 20 September 1861, p. 4.

²⁴ 'Ballarat versus Otago', (ex-*Melbourne Argus*), *Daily Southern Cross*, 24 September 1861, p. 4; 'Sydney', (ex-*Sydney Empire*), *Wellington Independent*, 1 October 1861, p. 4; 'Victoria', (ex- *Melbourne Weekly Age*), *Nelson Examiner and New Zealand Chronicle*, 5 October 1861, p. 4.

In Otago, when the worst of rumour-fed 'rush' behaviour began to be evinced by the newly arrived diggers and a headlong rush was spurred from the Tuapeka by a rumour, Gabriel Read tried to calm things down, writing a letter to the *Otago Witness*

It may perhaps be the means of saving some trouble and disappointment to many, if I am permitted to inform those who are interested in digging affairs.... I was not successful in striking on anything which would justify me in pronouncing authoritatively that I have found the goldfield in the commercial paying sense of the term [in the area the miners had rushed to].²⁵

In November 1861, William Cutten and Julius Vogel of the newly-launched *Otago Daily Times* were appalled at the senselessness of this heretofore unseen 'rush' behaviour in Otago and crafted an editorial to offer their opinion of it:

Many of our readers must admit that even when most doubting the stories of new rushes, and when feeling the least reason to put confidence in the tales they are told concerning them, even then their imaginations are so easily dazzled that, hoping against conviction, they will commit the wildest extravagances, in the vague hope of seeing that come to pass which, in that in most hearts they feel to be hopeless. They will endure miracles of hardship and fatigue, they will dare hunger and exposure, loss on the bush, in short, every evil, misery, and misfortune, on the strength of rumours that fall to pieces as soon as they are sifted. The more often a person is duped by a worthless rush, the more credulous he appears to become. His proneness to believe seems to increase in the inverse ratio as the probabilities decrease, and stories the least likely to be true are most eagerly credited.

Whoever has been in Victoria will bear us out that we have not exaggerated the sketch we have drawn. The farther off a rush is, and consequently the more vague and uncorroborated the accounts concerning it, the more attraction it appears to possess. Scarcely a week passes in Victoria without half a dozen rushes of more-or-less magnitude.... Forgetting the inclemency of the climate and the difficulties of obtaining food in many parts of the interior of the Province; it is to be feared that some of these baseless rushes will be allowed to occur, and we fear with disastrous results. The origin of a rush is frequently wrapped in obscurity. Diggers are apt to give an occult meaning to the simplest incident or remark. A single sentence to which a double construction can be given sufficient to produce a rush, and whenever commenced the more mysterious the origin, the more blind as the general belief in it.²⁶

The lament of a Tuapeka storekeeper published in the columns of the *Otago Daily Times* in February 1862 would suggest the lessons of early duffer rushes were not learned:

²⁵ Thos. Gabriel Read, (Correspondence), The New Rush, *Otago Witness*, 15 November 1861, p. 5.

²⁶ Editorial, *Otago Daily Times*, 23 November 1861, p. 2.

‘Generally ... we have a new rush every Monday morning, and 3 days of the week are spent in watching the success of the prospectors. If not discovery of importance is made they come back, and for the rest of the week work steadily away at the old ground, but at the first rumour of a new rush, are again off. I only wish they would settle down somewhere.’²⁷

When the news of Hartley and Riley’s spectacular finds in the Clutha became known, the miners of the Tuapeka and surrounding districts reacted instantly:

the multitude ... despite of cautions, heedless of roads, reckless of provisional requirements, started in hundreds for the new and unequalled *Dorado*, determined to there to find what Hartley and Riley found, or perish in the attempt.... encumbered with enormous “swags” at scarcely a day’s notice.... everything has turned topsy-turvy....servants, clerks, storekeepers, pseudo-merchants, all have opened their eyes Hartley-wards, have shouldered their swags, and expect to, and of course will bring back ---- ozs. from the new diggings.²⁸

Despite the failures, the dreamers and the ne’er-do-wells of the mob who gave up on this rush (just as they did in similar circumstances in Australia and California) as quickly as they departed for it, many of the miners who settled to develop ground on the banks of the Clutha and around Manuherikia Junction found rich rewards. However as they developed these, the Clutha’s pattern of spring snow melt floods drove them from their claims. Those affected were faced with two alternatives: apply for ‘protection’ of their claims²⁹ and wait for the floodwaters to subside, or file for protection and go prospecting. Many took the former option, but those brave enough to take the latter discovered the immense wealth of Moa Creek, Conroy’s Gully, Doctor’s Point, the Nokomai, Nevis, Bannockburn, Lowburn, Quartz Reef Point and Dunstan Creek fields, and as the weeks went by added Rough Ridge, Cardrona, Arrow, Rees, Shotover, Skippers, Rocky Point, Hogburn, Teviot, Millers Flat and Tinker’s Gully to the list.

In the first days of the Dunstan rush, new goldfields were found so fast that the warden administration, policing and declaration of goldfields was in a state of perpetual ‘catch-up’ and all of Australasia were transfixed by what was going on. An awestruck *Otago Daily Times* set aside its conservative paternalism to declare

²⁷ ‘The Goldfields’, *Otago Daily Times*, 27 February 1862, p. 2.

²⁸ ‘The New Hartley Diggings’, *Wellington Independent*, 26 August 1862, p. 7.

²⁹ ‘Protection meant paying a fee to register their claim and notifying the local warden that it could not be worked, thereby protecting it against ‘jumping’ by another miner for a fortnight E.g., ‘The Wakatip, Dunstan, and Mount Benger Goldfields’, *Otago Daily Times*, 24 December 1862, p. 6.

to any person hesitating and waiting for further accounts of rushes before starting in this direction. I would say that he will on his arrival find them of daily occurrence, and offer an almost unlimited choice of locality. The serious question is which to choose. The district is opening out so rapidly that the very mention of names is bewildering. Gold is found everywhere, and there is room enough for thousands will stop as a summer's diggings, the surrounding country is proving itself capable to maintain all who come, and only requiring to be tested to unfold its vast resources and its enormous wealth. The very palmiest days of the Victorian goldfields are apparently again being reproduced before the astonished gaze of the miners, and yet there are many who cannot at the moment appreciate the circumstances by which they are surrounded. It is an impossibility to speak in too glowing terms of the value of the Dunstan goldfield. Not mere word painting can convey the faithful description of its value and importance.... This goldfield is on its merest infancy. Its extent is undefinable, and already rich workings are discovered over a large area of country.... No gold field in any portion of the world offers so great a variety of diggings as this.³⁰

Clutha floods created the impetus which saw the entire Central Otago gold field prospected in a very short time. Some areas waxed and waned, miners scratching at the surface finding a little, going elsewhere, returning to settle into a long term development. Other fields were immensely rich from the very beginning, such as Skippers Canyon, Conroy's Gully and the Arrow and they had a stable population which developed very quickly.

Given the romance and excitement of a gold rush, people can be forgiven for romanticising and mythologising the events. A witness to the Dunstan rush in August 1862 described:

Travellers were coming in from various directions... each little knot of men as they journeyed along, Indian – file fashion, was accompanied by either one or two horses carrying a large heavy pack, consisting of the usual heterogeneous mass of luggage, constituting a diggers household goods and stock-in-trade; while those whose worldly accumulations did not permit the luxury of a beast of burden, carried the goods themselves, and trudged along with their heads thrust through coils of blankets, to which, inconvenient positions, were suspended tin kettles, frying pans, dishes, and other necessary requisites of a gold seeker. As wood is so scarce in this part of the country even the tent poles formed part of the swag, each man carries one in his hand, using it as a staff as he trudges along the dusty path, and looks like some pilgrim, who... performs his penance by carrying a heavy burthen on

³⁰ 'The Dunstan Diggings', *Otago Daily Times*, 20 November 1862, p. 5.

his back as he drags his weary way towards the distant shrine of some celebrated saint.³¹

Such descriptions are exciting – but upon such foundations myths are built, interpolations made and guesses asserted as truth, to produce the romantic ‘rush’ celebrated in every old gold locale around the world.

The structure of a localised ‘rush’

A rush has distinct phases. It begins when a prospector or a group of mates find gold in a previously unexplored area.³² These prospectors choose either to work in secret, to win as much gold as possible as quickly as they can or to apply to the warden for a ‘prospectors claim’, which entitles them to a special claim centred on the area they had worked and quadruple the standard size. The next phase is the typical ‘rush’ of popular myth, and begins as soon as someone (a newspaperman, goldfields warden or another miner) discovers the and make their location known to others, or immediately a prospecting claim is filed, as others learn the details lodged with the warden. Rumours multiply exponentially, especially if the secret is a long-held one and miners rush the area.

As the ‘rush’ begins, miners who were ‘on tiptoe ready to be off in any direction when rumour promised a fresh field’³³ sell out of their claim, leave it in the care of one of their partners, or in some cases, abandon equipment, mates, tents and any legal title to their claim, to rush pell-mell for the new ground.³⁴ Some of the first to respond are storekeepers hoping to profit by being the first on the new ground, selling liquor for celebrations, food for those without supplies and tools for those who stampeded a little quickly. They operated temporary stores of scantling and poles or sold goods off their dray. However these storekeepers had to be cautious that they were not perceived as having created the rush to exploit the opportunity.³⁵ As news of the richness of the new field is revealed in warden’s reports and newspapers, others make a more reasoned decision to follow. It was not uncommon for this second group to be greeted by two mobs of returning miners: those who

³¹ ‘Down Along the River – Part II’, *Otago Daily Times*, 17 May 1864, p. 6.

³² Thomas Smith, ‘Caledonian Diggings’, Correspondence, *The Argus*, 8 February 1856, p. 6.

³³ Howitt, p.139.

³⁴ W. Masson, ‘A Rush at the Diggings’, Correspondence, *South Australian Register*, 3 March 1853, p. 3.

³⁵ Reuben Waite found this out at the Grey in late 1864 when he was nearly lynched when miners thought the West Coast’s Greenstone was a ‘shicer.’ (J. Halket Millar, *Westland’s Golden ‘Sixties*, (Wellington, Reed, 1959), pp. 91-94) ‘Shicer’ - anglicised scheisser (*scheiße*), for a claim that produced no gold; lit. ‘shit’; It was worse for the storekeepers who joined the rush to ‘Hunt’s Duffer’ at Bruce Bay, most of whom lost everything, Philip Ross May, *The West Coast Gold Rushes*, (Christchurch, Pegasus Press, 1952), pp. 181-184.

had made a 'pile' and were leaving the area or even the country, and those who have found nothing and were returning to an area with at least a modicum of winnable gold, such as a 'tucker' field like Bendigo Gully, Drybread, Nokomai, Blacks or even Gabriel's Gully and Wetherstones. As the easier gold is recovered at the new rush, and the necessity for amalgamating claims, the development of sluicing syndicates and the requirement for financing of larger scale operations becomes apparent, the field and its nascent settlement becomes vulnerable to a mass migration to the next 'rush' area.

The last phase is a 'settling down' at the rush centre: assuming new rushes do not siphon off all the population, and as a greater number and range of merchants moved to the new field to set up business, an urban centre begins to emerge and started on the evolutionary progress of the peculiar development of a goldfields town: temporary premises of canvas, poles and thatch are replaced by wooden, or wood and iron structures, which in turn gave way to stone and brick, complete with surveys, street names and an official town title. The final move in this sequence was to have the new field gazetted (if it fell outside of the boundaries previously defined) and have authorities sent there such as a policeman, goldfields warden and even a visiting magistrate. The limited potential of many areas meant that this last step was frequently irrelevant; sometimes when it was enacted, the authorities turned up, warrant in hand, to a played-out, empty goldfield.

In many cases in Australasia, there was, despite the best efforts of settlers to fight the inevitable, a gold finding (and therefore business and population) dénouement. Eventually, even the best of the gold fields is worked out and the town either finds a new *raison d'être* as a service centre for farmers, forestry or other new colonial industries or it withers and dies, and only a few scattered structures remain as a ghost town crumbling in the landscape to show that it was once a thriving centre.

Tracing a Rush

Gold rushes are exciting events marked by the construction and collapse of boom settlements, of miners hurtling from one place to the next and of stories of rich finds and 'duffer' hoaxes which become the myth-built legends defining the era. After years of 'rush' behaviour, Vincent Pyke and other administrators sought to trace back what happened, where, and to whom for each locale. At Bendigo, a rush town of the Central Otago gold rush, a lack of

documentary sources has led to Pyke and other writers speculating and misinterpreting the timeline of the events which caused the town to appear.

Re-analysing the journal on which the narratives have been based demonstrates the kind of historiographical myth that needs to be challenged, alongside the popular historical myth which, together with additional documentary evidence, leads to new conclusions about when this town became an important centre of mining in Otago.

Background – Rush towns

In the earliest months of the Central Otago rush, regular news of rich goldfields like the *Otago Daily Times*’ report that ‘immense yields seem to be the order of the day, and some of the reported finds are almost fabulous, and were they not well authenticated would appear exaggerations.... to give returns of all the rich finds is an impossibility’³⁶ caused some miners to coalesce into a restless mass, swarming across the province, flitting from one field to the next, abandoning proven, profitable claims in their maniacal rush to chase rumours of richer ground. They erected or dismantled towns of tin and canvas in a few hours according to the collective whim of the rushing mob.³⁷

The history of these ephemeral towns are reconstructed from vague newspaper descriptions, interpreting and interpolating hints in imprecise narratives, written by excited, less than impartial and sometimes barely literate observers. The goldfields administration scrabbled to keep up with the ebb and flow of new settlements, in one instance sending a warden and staff to a remote locale which had been deemed a ‘duffer’ and abandoned before the officials arrived, and in another, joining the Bank of New South Wales and the post office to open premises in the new town of Charleston, only to close it, dismantling all buildings when the goldfield failed mere weeks later.³⁸ Diggings and associated shanty towns emerged from Kyeburn to Cardrona, from Nokomai to Doctors Point, mushrooming into existence in the most improbable of places, constructed out of the sparse materials at hand. Some stayed, others vanished. In November, 1863 the newly-built town of Hindon emerged:

The township has on each side [of the main street] about forty dwellings of a heterogeneous character, hotels, shanties, stores, and tents, but buildings are being run up with such rapidity ... that it is not unreasonable

³⁶ ‘Narrative of Current Events for Transmission to Melbourne’, *Otago Daily Times*, 27 November 1862, p.5.

³⁷ ‘The Dunstan’, *Otago Daily Times*, 2 December 1862, p. 5; ‘The Lake Country’, 20 February 1863, p.5.

³⁸ ‘The Lake District’, *Otago Daily Times*, 3 September 1864, p. 5.

to suppose the town will have doubled its extent in the course of another month.

Several of the buildings now in course of erection are of timber; last week not more than half a dozen were of this material. Of the hotels, the Golden Age, by Messrs Paterson and Fargie, seems to be doing what is called a roaring trade; ... [it] has well nigh completed a tolerably extensive concert room, to which is attached a neat stage ; and nearly opposite, the Game Cock hostelry attracts crowds by day and night, who join inside singing choruses to the accompaniment of a shrill harmonium

There is also a restaurant ... the fare is good and wholesome, and the charges reasonable. Several bakeries are being erected with all speed, as the demand for bread last week was incessant, and the few ovens at work were "rushed" by the hungry men.³⁹

Towns appeared, were briefly sustained, then crumbled into the landscape and off the official record. Kawarau Gorge, Dunstan Creek, Sandy Point and North Pole are all forgotten now, yet each was a Central Otago goldfields town, with a post office, businesses, ferries and a population of miners for whom they were created. Another town called Wakefield was peculiar, in that it was a town surveyed in case it was needed in anticipation of a demand that never eventuated, remaining just a ferry crossing with a post office.⁴⁰

Assembling the order in which new goldfields were found and settlements built is thus a process complicated by several factors. One is the secretive behaviour adopted by prospectors when they found new, rich fields. They took for their standard, the behaviour adopted by MacGregor, Low and Fox at the Arrow in late November, 1862,⁴¹ who concluded that while prospecting rewards could be offered from the Provincial Government, keeping quiet and getting on with the location and development of the best claims paid better. This makes research difficult and the establishment of time and location challenging. New gold fields were found and worked in secret for weeks until a warden, fellow miner or prying newspaperman declared the news to a breathless public looking for the next big find.

³⁹ 'The Taieri Diggings', *Otago Witness*, 21 November 1863, p. 6.

⁴⁰ Kawarau Gorge (also known as Gorge Town, Gorgetown and sometimes George Town) was a small settlement west of Cromwell and near the entrance to the mouth of Kawarau Gorge; Dunstan Creek was near St Bathans and has now been sluiced away; Sandy Point now a rest area in the north Clutha Valley; North Pole was in the southern part of the Nevis Valley; Wakefield was about 1kilometre north of the 'Crippletown' parking area on SH 8.

⁴¹ 'The Dunstan', *Otago Witness*, 6 December 1862, p. 2.

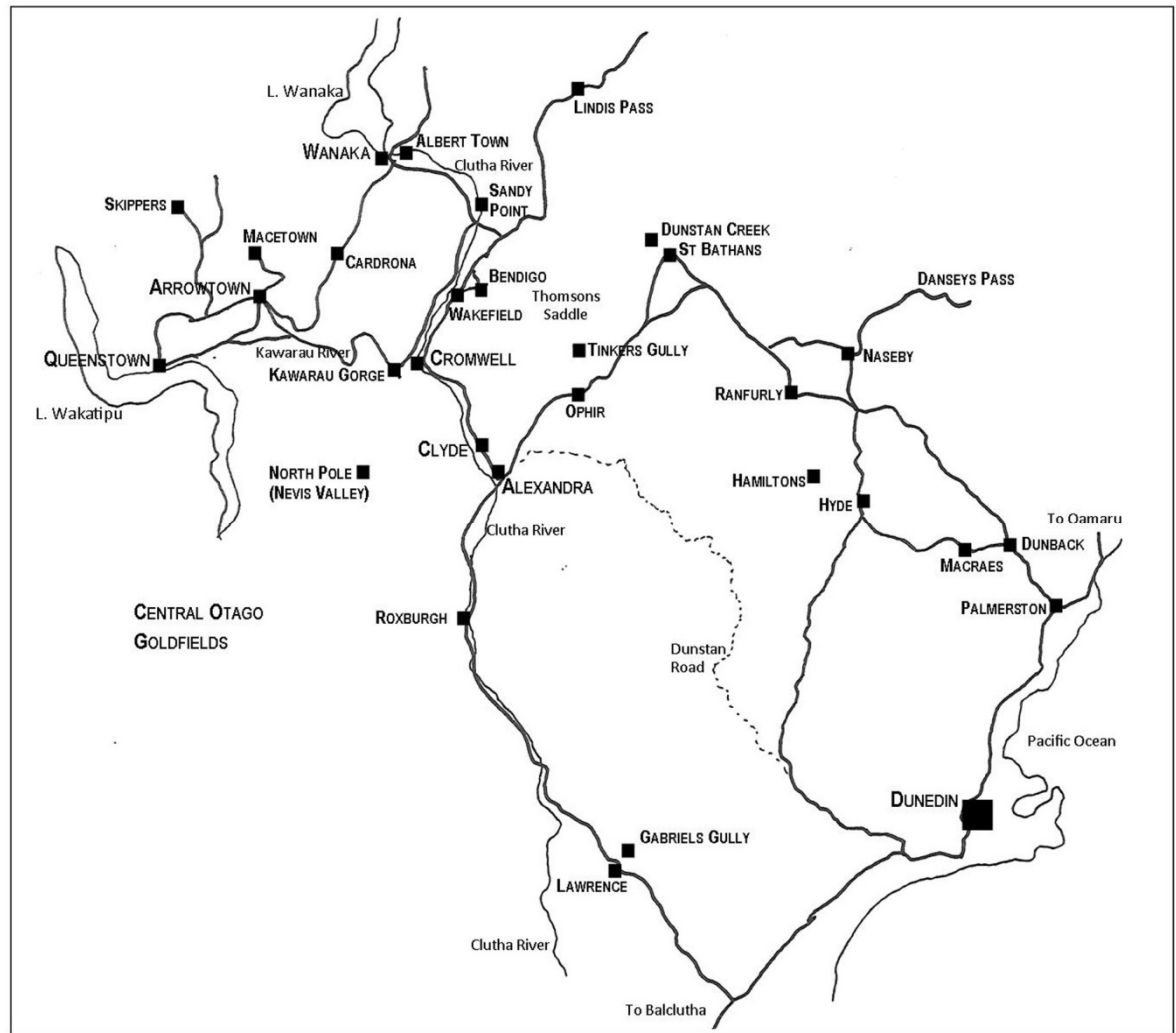


FIGURE 4.1 Location Map – Central Otago Gold Rush area, Showing Kawarau Gorge, Dunstan Creek, Sandy Point and North Pole

Another factor complicating the goldfields timeline is that much of the history was reported retrospectively by correspondents playing ‘catch-up’ on fast-moving events and a changing population in the vast – and expanding – areas they covered. In addition to accounts written contemporaneously with these events, veteran goldfields administrator, lawmaker and MP Vincent Pyke and retired Cromwell policeman John Cassels penned regular contributions to the *Otago Witness*, recounting stories of the earliest days in the province.

It is in this context that I challenge every history of the earliest years of the rush to the Bendigo Gully goldfield. This field, which I have used as the exemplar throughout the remainder of this thesis, suffers from a mis-reading of the narrative around the place, which changes the order of Otago discoveries and adds a level of prominence which is not borne out

by records and archival material. The writer of this narrative was a locally-eminent diarist, George Magnus Hassing.

George Magnus Hassing: Sailor – Miner – Ferryman – Teacher – Storyteller

In 1921 Danish-born George Magnus Hassing, a well-respected Southland primary school headmaster, reflected on his earlier life. Renowned for his genial ways, copper-plate handwriting and for his passion to educate the whole community, he courted controversy in 1878 for setting up night classes to teach Chinese miners English. Such was his standing in his community that in 1908 he was selected to greet Prime Minister Ward on behalf of the citizens of Southland,⁴² but behind Hassing's reserved, genteel mien lay thrilling memories of a rambunctious, action-packed youth. He told the story of his life in a series of articles written for the *Otago Witness*, beginning with his work as a sea-farer in the orient, South America and Calcutta, a few months after the 'Black Hole' incident.⁴³

In February, 1922 Hassing began writing of his Otago gold rush life. Figure 4.1 shows Hassing with his grand-daughter at about this time. In his writing, recounted work as ferryman, log raft-rider, miner, shipbuilder, trader, gold miner and finally teacher at Cardrona. He infused his story with famed prospectors, entrepreneurs and adventurers, imbuing each tale with the spice and veracity of personal memory. In the readers of the *Otago Witness*, Hassing had a ready audience. With the horrors of the Great War and the influenza epidemic bleakly weighing on everyone's mind, nostalgia for the simplicity and adventure of the gold rush times of sixty years earlier had widespread appeal. There was a vicarious thrill, sitting in neat Otago 1920s suburbia, to read of lonely prospectors clambering around bluffs where there are now roads, risking their lives to swim cataracts now tamed by bridges and footsore after slogging great distances now covered in hours in the comfort of the Central Otago railway. As one American writer put it, 'We want to relive those thrilling days of yesteryear, but only because we are absolutely assured that those days are out of reach'.⁴⁴ The stories of individual diggers risking it all to strike it rich had a romantic appeal that took readers out of their humdrum existence. Hassing's stories suited the times and his audience.

⁴² 'The Prime Minister', *Otago Witness*, 4 November 1908, p. 29; Obituary, *The Otago Standard*, 8 January 1929 p. 4.

⁴³ In 1930, a year after his death, the *Southland Times* would print these as *Pages From the Memory Log of George Magnus Hassing*. (Invercargill, 1930).

⁴⁴ Rosenblatt, R., 'Look Back in Sentiment', *New York Times*, 28 July 1973, p. 23.



FIGURE 4.1 George Magnus Hassing and granddaughter, Cromwell c. 1908. Image courtesy of R. Murray Collection, used with permission.

In the February 14, 1922 *Otago Witness*, Hassing recalled an association with Bendigo: the primary argument offered in the case around the difficulties of goldfields dating.

Fifty-eight years ago, when Fox's rush took place, miners and packers from the Dunstan were unable to cross the Upper Clutha, in order to reach the new rush, unless they travelled up the eastern side of the river as far as Albertown, where at that time I had a ferry established.

A few months afterwards, or early in 1863, another ferry was started at Rocky Point by two enterprising fellows known as Pat and Charley. After they had done a roaring trade for a few months, a bridge was erected over the narrow gorge in the Clutha above the point or the junction now known as Cromwell ... This bridge diverted the traffic from Rocky Point and the Roaring Meg and Gentle Annie now became the nearest and most direct route from the Dunstan and Fox's. Pat and Charley therefore sold out to George Rainer and William Rankin. The latter, familiarly known as 'Scotty' worked for many years afterwards about Cromwell and Bannockburn.

Good payable gold was struck in Bendigo Gully about this time by a party who came over the Dunstan Range from Thomson's Gully or Tinker's. Anticipating a trade, I bought out Rainer and Rankin and put on a new boat. Soon about 150 miners took up claims and located themselves in the gully, and things began to liven. Though there were no 'pile' claims, yet from £10 to £15 per week a man was not uncommon.

A store and saloon was started by Mr Sam Box, a tough old Cornishman, and his inestimable wife, an Irish lady, with a captivating and persuasive brogue; and my word! didn't she rake in the shekels! Mr Box and his son Sam did the packing from the ferry. Other saloons speedily followed under the ownership of Mr and Mrs Charles Hare, Mr and Mrs George Blanchard, Mr and Mrs Joe Smith, and Mrs J. Wilson (wife of Drummer Jack). These places became crowded with diggers in the evenings, when the shouting, drinking, and yelling were something to astonish a new chum. A butchery was also started by William Smith (Sydney Bill), and Chas. O'Donnell.⁴⁵

Using this account as the basis, every subsequent historian addressing the history of Bendigo has written of it beginning between late 1862 and early 1863, describing a place thronged with hundreds of miners and several goldfields businesses.

The first to attempt a history of the area, lawyer James Crombie Parcell tempers his account, admitting in his Cromwell area history, *Heart of the Desert* that for the early years of the Bendigo goldfield, 'The history of this alluvial field from 1862 to 1866 is very sketchy',⁴⁶ reproducing Hassing's account in its entirety to cover its beginnings. Cromwell historian and writer Ron Murray admitted the same in interviews when he hinted at his frustration at the lack of information: 'I could never understand why Bendigo is never heard of, and then all of a sudden in June, 1865 it has 60-odd miners working there. If the place was worked from 1862, it seems odd that no-one wrote of it'.⁴⁷

How are we to account for the fact that no mention is made of Bendigo Gully in any local or national paper prior to 1865, then it leaps, fully populated into the record? No earlier report by a goldfields warden includes 'Bendigo' or 'Bendigo Gully'; it is not mentioned in any of the Otago Provincial Government Gazettes until 1867 and is not in any record in the Mines Department or School of Mines Archive. Hassing's is the sole eyewitness account, but the interpretation of its narrative has been problematic, for reasons which I will outline.

Any reports that do exist suggest that the area now known as Bendigo Gully was

⁴⁵ 'A Memory of Bendigo', *Otago Witness*, 14 February 1922, p. 63.

⁴⁶ Parcell, J.C., *Heart of the Desert - A History of the Cromwell and Bannockburn Districts of Central Otago*, (Dunedin, Otago Centennial Historical Publications, 1951).

⁴⁷ Ron Murray worked for James Crombie Parcell in his Cromwell law practice for over 30 years and published *Costly Gold*, (1976). Interviewed in October, 2010 and February, 2011.

worked sporadically or ignored entirely; that it was worked in such small numbers that it attracted no attention from the wardens in their reports, and that the miners there – what few there were – worked in an unlikely and uncharacteristic harmony requiring absolutely no recourse to the Plaint (Miner's Disputes) Court until 1865. Miners of the 1860s and 1870s were remarkably litigious, taking offense at any perceived wrong, intrusion on their claim, water right or share dispute and hauling their opponent off to court in Clyde to settle their dispute. The Plaint Court records show that everywhere in the Dunstan region, whenever miners were found working cheek by jowl, or whenever they worked very rich ground, the Court was busy. In 1864, Warden Broad said 'Disputes are rife at Hyde, which may be taken as evidence that the ground is considered valuable',⁴⁸ and two years later Warden Simpson commented on the 'multiple disputes at the Black's Field' as 'proof of its wealth'.⁴⁹ A blank Plaints Court record for 1863-65 therefore says a great deal about the Bendigo area, while the frequent disputes between Bendigo miners after June 1865 corroborate the dates suggested.

It also shows that Bendigo Gully was not called Bendigo Gully, or at least, not on any official document or proclamation, and if it had acquired that name, that it was not in common or widespread usage until 1864.

Reports and rumours in the area

There are independent clues to the development of the area at what became known as Bendigo Gully provided in the contemporary press. Gabriel Read, sent on a Government-sponsored prospecting and reporting expedition in September, 1862, reported 'an extension of this [Dunstan] field is rapidly being made towards the Lindis'.⁵⁰ A month later, Read reported miners working near what became known as Quartz Reef Point, a few miles south of what would later be called Bendigo, 'on the Clutha proper, the stream running from Lake Wanaka, diggers are working up to within a short distance of the Lindis River – the majority are not of the opinion that the yield improves the farther they attain to the north in that river they have sound prospects which might induce the hope that, with improved appliances, room may be found for sluicing companies even there'.⁵¹ No place was given the name 'Bendigo'. But it is likely that Read's report was not widely read; as he wrote, everyone's

⁴⁸ Resident Magistrate's Court, *Otago Daily Times*, 15 December 1864, p. 5.

⁴⁹ 'Local', *Otago Witness*, 20 October 1866, p. 11.

⁵⁰ 'Report on the Dunstan Gold Field to Deputy Superintendent Hon. J. Hyde Harris', *Otago Witness*, 20 September 1862, p. 3.

⁵¹ 'Report to Hyde Harris dated 24 September 1862', *Otago Witness*, 11 October, 1862, p. 5.

attention was distracted by the twin announcements of the opening of the Cardona field by Michael Grogan and the discovery of the remarkably rich workings of the ‘redoubtable’ William Fox at the Arrow.

Once the secret of his finds at the Arrow gorge was out, Fox was persuaded to contribute to the pages of the *Witness*, where he wrote accounts of his find and provided information on how to get to the areas he and others had recently opened up. He discussed other mining areas, and in late November, supported Read’s assertion that the area north of the Kawarau Junction was unlikely to be very rich: ‘I crossed the river (Clutha) near the junction with the Kawarau and followed up the west bank. From the junction this branch runs through extensive flats. Table Ranges, with gravelly terraces intersected these flats. Some parts of this formation are likely to be auriferous, but the working of them is not at present profitable It is a sluicing country, and would entail an outlay of capital, or large co-operative bodies of miners to get sluice heads of water to work effectively’.⁵²

Read and Fox both made reference to a lack of likely profitability, an opinion that would be echoed in the warden’s reports of Bendigo in 1865, where miners produced an ounce for a week’s effort, a yield regarded at the time as barely above ‘tucker’, or subsistence returns. By contrast reports were penned by the *Otago Daily Times* correspondent enthusiastically declaring that at the Shotover and Arrow fields, ‘Men are earning in a few days amounts as large as Hartley and Riley [sic] did in months.’⁵³ Given such stories of vast wealth being won from these and the Arrow, Roaring Meg, Shotover, Nevis and Conroy’s fields, it is hardly surprising that the area with at best sparsely distributed gold near the Rocky Point Ferry was explored but passed over in favour of the richer places.

In completing this analysis of Bendigo’s early years, a minor goldfields retailer presents an intriguing anchor point to the narrative. McLeod and Gibson’s store was the only one to remain on the Lindis in mid-1862, as that field’s gold ran out and the miners departed⁵⁴. It is mentioned in Vincent Pyke’s December 1862 report, where he says that for a considerable period this store was the major source of supplies in the region, as he encountered a man heading back from the Arrow diggings, seeking to replenish his food stocks there.⁵⁵ What Pyke does not make clear is that this store he talks about appears to have moved from the Lindis to near Rocky Point (the ferry crossing point and later gateway to

⁵² ‘Gold Fields, The Dunstan’, *Otago Witness*, 28 November 1862, p. 4.

⁵³ ‘The Dunstan, Hartley Township’, *Otago Witness*, 27 December 1862, p. 2.

⁵⁴ ‘The Dunstan Diggings’, *Otago Witness*, 4 October 1862, p. 8.

⁵⁵ ‘The Dunstan, Hartley Township’, *Otago Witness*, 27 December 1862, p. 5.

Bendigo), because Dr Hector, who passed the point as he embarked on one of his major explorations, locates this business ‘at the mouth of the Lindis, about fourteen miles above the junction’.⁵⁶ Hector also says in passing that it was near the store that he and the others in his party ‘swam the horses over the Molyneux’, an indication that no ferry operated from that locale at that time. This location is confirmed in a report of the first developments in the alluvial gravels of nearby Sandy Point, five miles up the Clutha from Rocky Point. The store would later shift to Albertown, where it remained for many years.⁵⁷ When the first miners arrived at what they would later call Bendigo, they would have had in this store a convenient local source of supplies until stores were opened in the middle of the workings of Bendigo Gully itself.

In his late 1862 report to the Provincial Government, Pyke states that the most northerly workings he encountered as he journeyed up the valley to Wanaka were wrought by a group of miners at what would later become known as Quartz Reef Point.⁵⁸ A year later, a new goldfield was announced in a report dated September, 1863 when a place ‘about 25 miles from the Upper Dunstan’ was declared.⁵⁹ This ambiguous description could conceivably refer to either Rocky Point (26 miles from Dunstan), or Amisfield Burn (25 miles from Dunstan, across the Clutha from Rocky Point). Whichever this refers to, it is clear that while it is near Bendigo Gully, it is extremely unlikely to have been Bendigo (28 miles from Dunstan). Either way, whatever was announced found no echo in later reports of workings in the region, so whatever was found and wherever it was, it was a short-run thing.

The Dating Problem

This is the crux of the dating problem. Every historian and writer since James Crombie Parcell has used Hassing’s text to locate the beginning of Bendigo. All use late 1862 or early 1863 as the incontrovertible start date for Bendigo Gully, since Hassing, the eyewitness, provided it. And yet, as I have outlined, there is not one extant document from the period referring to ‘Bendigo’ before September, 1864.

So was George Magnus Hassing wrong? Did he make it up or borrow someone else’s experience and appropriate it as his own, like the famous ‘Captain’ William Jackson Barry

⁵⁶ ‘Gold Fields, The Dunstan’, *Otago Witness*, 28 November 1862, p. 4.

⁵⁷ Hassing, in an earlier letter written to the *Witness*, notes that this store shifted again, and in 1864 was at Albertown. *Otago Witness*, 28 February 1906.

⁵⁸ ‘The Dunstan, Hartley Township’, *Otago Witness*, 27 December 1862, p. 7.

⁵⁹ ‘News of the Week’, *Otago Witness*, 11 September 1863, p. 5.

was accused of doing in the 1966 *Encyclopaedia of New Zealand* ('Barry was ... undoubtedly New Zealand's greatest literary liar ... New Zealand's de Rougemont, as de Rougemont was Australia's Munchausen'),⁶⁰ or did the vagaries of time and memory simply produce an unintended confusion? Or do these facts offer a simpler explanation of what happened?

Hassing was writing in his second language, for all his erudition. He was also well-known – in fact fêted – for his circumlocutory skills and ability to keep an audience attentive for hours, splicing additional off-topic material into his stories and lectures.⁶¹ His other writing contains asides, diversions and the insertion of supporting evidence and opinion in the middle of his narrative. It seems highly likely that any or all of these storytelling habits impacted on the difference between what he wrote and what he meant. It remains to examine what he wrote, to discuss what clues are found within his story and see what would give a different date to the historiographical myth which has been assumed by every modern historian.

Dates, Ferrymen and a Post Office

Hassing states the date about which he writes with precision. In his introduction, it is 'Fifty-eight years ago', which places the date as 1864, given his article was dated 1922. He also notes that 'when Fox's rush took place, miners and packers from the Dunstan were unable to cross the Upper Clutha, in order to reach the new rush, unless they travelled up the eastern side of the river as far as Alberttown, where at that time I had a ferry established,' which is easily located, given that Hassing's Albert Town ferry was established in the Otago Provincial Government Gazette in late 1862⁶² and Fox's rush to the Arrow River happened in late November, 1862.⁶³ The Albert ferry was later controversially re-awarded, with eight other Central Otago ferry contracts, to Henry Hill in a new tender awarded in July, 1863 which was fully operative by August.⁶⁴

The next characters discussed by Hassing are also ferry-related: 'A few months

⁶⁰ 'BARRY, "Captain" William Jackson', from *An Encyclopaedia of New Zealand*, edited by A. H. McLintock, originally published in 1966. Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand, updated 27-Oct-11, URL: <http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/1966/barry-captain-william-jackson/1>

⁶¹ 'Social Presentation at Feldwick School', *Otautau Standard and Wallace County Chronicle*, 23 December 1919, p. 2.

⁶² *Otago Provincial Government Gazette*, March 25, 1863, p. 105.

⁶³ 'The Dunstan', *Otago Witness*, 6 December, 1862, p. 2.

⁶⁴ Superintendent's General Inwards Correspondence OP 7, January 1862 – August 1863, Box 3, Archives NZ Dunedin Office,; *Otago Provincial Government Gazette*, 2 September 1863, p. 337.

afterwards, or early in 1863, another ferry was started at Rocky Point by two enterprising fellows known as Pat and Charley.’ These were the two contractors under the tender offered for a ferry at ‘Lindis Crossing’, a point which from the description is on the Clutha, which was shifted for convenience – and a safe landing place – to what later became known as Rocky Point, and is the only ferry ignored by Hill.⁶⁵ This ferry was established to allow the safe crossing of miners on their way from the port town of Oamaru⁶⁶ to the diggings around the Lakes district (Superintendent Richardson noted the volume of supplies coming from Oamaru in December 1862⁶⁷ and in 1866 the route over the Lindis Pass from Oamaru is described as ‘the main trunk of road’ to the Lake District⁶⁸). The route was also important for those who used the Thomson Pass route from the Maniatoto Plain, near what became known as the town of Tinkers. It is likely that ‘Charley’ was Charley Hinsburgh, a popular German miner who operated the Manorburn Ferry and store on the Manuherikia River from mid-1864.⁶⁹

In a boon to researchers, Hassing also lists some names that appear in the official records, when he says that ‘Pat and Charley therefore sold out to George Rainer [sic] and William Rankin.’ George Raynor was appointed Post Master at Rocky Point on May 12, 1864, a position he held until at least the end of September of that year.⁷⁰ In a statement which links his purchase of Raynor and Rankin’s ferry to the finding of gold at Bendigo, Hassing states ‘payable gold was struck in Bendigo Gully about this time by a party who came over the Dunstan Range from Thomson’s Gully or Tinkers,’ placing the earliest occurrence of the events Hassing describes at Bendigo as late 1864.

Businesses and Rush Characters

An easy contribution to the mythological construction of the rush occurs when an amorphous mob is discussed. Faces in photographs are generally anonymous; groups in narratives remain a collective noun without identity. To look at the evidence for when Bendigo Gully began and to fully understand the nature of the rush in this one locale, I looked into the biographies, backgrounds and migrations – where they could be traced – of the people of the place. This

⁶⁵ *Otago Provincial Government Gazette*, 8 July, 1863, Vol. VI, No.254, p. 240.

⁶⁶ ‘Reconnaissance Survey’, *Otago Witness*, 26 July 1862, p. 3.

⁶⁷ ‘The Wakatip, Dunstan and Mount Benger Goldfields’, *Otago Witness*, 27 December, 1862, p. 2

⁶⁸ ‘News of the Week’, *Otago Witness*, 21 April 1866, p. 11

⁶⁹ ‘The Great Flood in the Manuherikia’, *Otago Witness*, 20 October 1866, p. 2, See also ‘Dunstan’, 20 May, 1865, p. 5; ‘Local’, *Otago Daily Times*, 31 March, 1865 and others.

⁷⁰ *OPGG*, 15 June 1864, Vol. VII, No. 308, p. 183.

offered the twin problems of confirming some of the mythopoeia with some characters, while providing enough detail on others to reduce them to people who could seamlessly be part of our lives today without standing out.

Accordingly, Hassing declares that saloons were operated, (probably without a license), 'by Mr. and Mrs Sam Box, Mr. and Mrs Charles Hare, Mr. and Mrs George Blanchard, Mr and Mrs Joe Smith, and Mrs J. Wilson (wife of Drummer Jack). A butchery was started by William Smith, and Chas. O'Donnell.'

The Boxes are the hardest to track down prior to 1867. Mrs Box was charged with selling liquor without a license from her premises in Cromwell in 1867,⁷¹ one of several appearances on this charge in the Dunstan Court until her hotel gained a license in mid-1868. Her husband Sam was charged with operating a business supplying farm produce to Cromwell businesses without a license in 1868⁷² and he died sometime in the early 1870s,⁷³ leaving Mrs Box running her Junction Hotel until the early 1880s. In a court case in 1874, Sergeant Cassels said that 'it was a rowdy house; drunken diggers and so on'; that 'her servants were generally prostitutes', and that 'the house was always called into by the loose characters who came into town'. He offered some ameliorative comment, acknowledging that 'the house had been quieter lately' and that 'Mrs Box had got good accommodation in her house, and kept good liquors' but then in an aside to Judge Simpson, said that 'Mrs Box was hot-tempered, and had a bad tongue', and that 'he would certainly not allow any female connection of his to serve there'.⁷⁴ Mrs Box's obituary states that she came to Cromwell in the 'early sixties' and operated an hotel there until her second marriage to David Murley took her dairy farming in 1905.⁷⁵ Cromwell Historian Ron Murray was confident Ann Box was living at the Kawarau Gorge settlement, locally named Gorgetown in 1863-65, and found oblique references to her premises there being a 'bawdy house'.⁷⁶

The next of Hassing's Bendigo businessmen was Charles Hare. From July, 1864, he operated a liquor sales outlet from his farm at Poison Creek (opposite Sandy Point and about five miles north of Rocky Point) under a 'bottle' license, meaning he did not need to provide

⁷¹ Cromwell Magistrate Court Judgement Book Record Book 67-71, NZ Archives, Dunedin Office, DADO Acc D557 207c

⁷² Cromwell Plaints 1865 - 67 NZ Archives, Dunedin Office, ABBO Acc D98 7440.

⁷³ 'Wanaka', *Otago Witness*, 8 May 1907, p. 39

⁷⁴ Resident Magistrate's Court, *Cromwell Argus*, 12 May 1874, p. 2.

⁷⁵ 'Wanaka', *Otago Witness*, 8 May 1907, p. 39

⁷⁶ Personal comment from Ron Murray, 101 Innescourt Rd, Cromwell, February 2010.

accommodation.⁷⁷ Given records showing uninterrupted farming activity at Poison Creek throughout the 1860s, it seems likely that while Hassing remembers the Hares near Bendigo, he was almost certainly not at resident at the settlement.

Of the other business owners named by Hassing, two left the area, appearing on the West Coast field. In 1865, Blanchard went sluicing at Kanieri⁷⁸, then Okarito⁷⁹, where he ran a hotel⁸⁰ until 1874, when ill health forced his retirement.⁸¹ Joe Smith is not recorded beyond his arrival at Hokitika in 1865.⁸²

Mrs Jane Wilson seems more like a character from the pages of a ‘penny dreadful’ novel than true life, for by all accounts she was as bad as the worst of the goldfields women could get. She was violent,⁸³ a drunkard,⁸⁴ a sly grogger,⁸⁵ prostitute,⁸⁶ brothel keeper⁸⁷ and a mother who (according to a marginal note penned by the magistrate) raised minimal protest when her five daughters were taken from her to be sent to the Industrial School in Dunedin.⁸⁸ She would shift around the towns of Central Otago in reaction to the twin influences of police pressure and the apparent level of wealth in different towns. In 1870, she was arrested as a ‘Shanty Grog Seller’ at Arthur’s Point, where it was reported she was selling ‘some of the vilest compounds ever proposed to poison man. Brandy and whiskey appeared to consist of raw spirits from some illicit still, combined with spirits of wine and kerosene’.⁸⁹ The presiding judge felt that the compounds related to the arrest were ‘...so vile were the compounds that the bench ordered samples to be retained for analysis’.⁹⁰ Throughout the 1870s, she was rarely off the Court pages of the *Dunstan Times* and *Cromwell Argus*. If she was present at Bendigo in the very earliest times, then the likelihood is strong that whatever

⁷⁷ Cromwell Magistrate Court Judgement Book Record Book 67-71, Archives NZ Dunedin Office, DADO Acc D557 207c. The earliest date of this license is alluded to in a reference beside his renewal application.

⁷⁸ Advertisements, *West Coast Times*, 14 October 1865, p. 3.

⁷⁹ ‘Okarita’ [sic], *West Coast Times*, 12 June 1866, p. 2.

⁸⁰ ‘Okarito’, *West Coast Times*, 5 January 1874, p. 2.

⁸¹ Editorial, *West Coast Times*, 6 April 1874, p. 2.

⁸² Shipping, *West Coast Times*, 26 July 1865, p. 2.

⁸³ Resident Magistrate’s Court, *Cromwell Argus*, 18 August 1876, Fined and sentenced to 14 days imprisonment in Clyde gaol, with hard labour.

⁸⁴ Cromwell Resident Magistrate’s Court, *Cromwell Argus*, 12 January 1870.

⁸⁵ Resident Magistrate’s Court, *Cromwell Argus*, 8 February 1871 (fined L50, or in default, three months jail in Dunedin, with hard labour).

⁸⁶ Wilson was convicted of vagrancy and sentenced to one month jail at Clyde, with hard labour, Charge sheet, Cromwell Magistrate Court Judgement Book Record Book 67-71, Archives NZ Dunedin Office, DADO Acc D557 207c.

⁸⁷ Magistrate’s Court, *Cromwell Argus*, 14 May 1878, p. 3.

⁸⁸ Cromwell Magistrate Court Judgement Book Record Book 67-71, Archives NZ Dunedin Office, DADO Acc D557 207c.

⁸⁹ ‘Lake District’, *Dunstan Times*, 5 May 1870, p. 3.

⁹⁰ Ibid.

was happening there was probably illegal, uncontrolled, and definitely hazardous to health and morality.⁹¹

William Smith was sluicing at Clyde in 1863, moving to Sandy Point in April 1864, where he worked a succession of sluicing claims.⁹² He was still at Sandy Point in January, 1865, when he sold his shares in water races there, (probably, given the coincidence of dates, to move to Bendigo⁹³). Charles O'Donnell began his working life in Otago in 1860, driving bullock wagons from Oamaru to Wanaka, Morven Hills and other newly-established Otago sheep runs. When the gold rush broke out at the Lindis in early 1861, he was one of the first to supply the miners with provisions⁹⁴.



FIGURE 4.3 Above and Below: O'Donnell's Store, Hotel, Residence, Butchery, Bakery and Stables complex, Bendigo Gully. Built 1869; abandoned 1906

⁹¹ There is a degree of redemption to Mrs Wilson's story. In December 1888, she advertised her house for sale, a 'six-roomed iron house' on 'Cromwell Flat' which was 'well fenced, and the property is in thorough repair'. The contents, which were also listed for sale, included 'six iron bedsteads, three sofas, parlour and cooking stoves, musical instruments, lamps, sewing machines...' and so on. It is not clear whether this 'premises' was a dwelling or a business property, but the fact that it was owned debt-free with an acre of land would suggest she had done better than the history of living on the edge of – and over – the law through the 1870s would have suggested. (Advertisements, *Cromwell Argus*, 25 December 1888, p.2).

⁹² Record of transfer of share in sluicing operation from James Patterson to William Smith 27 September, 1863; Record of application for a water race by Smith and two others 24 December 1864, Archives NZ Dunedin Office, Clyde Warden's Court Applications ABBO Acc D98 7299.

⁹³ Record of application for transfer of shares in a water race at Sandy Point to James Horn, 16 January 1865, Clyde Warden's Court Applications, Archives NZ Dunedin Office, ABBO Acc D98 7299.

⁹⁴ Pioneer, *Otago Witness*, 22 April 1908, p. 39.



O'Donnell began mining at the Manuherikia in March, 1863,⁹⁵ moving to Hogburn (Naseby) where he opened his first store in July, 1863,⁹⁶ then to Hamiltons in January 1864⁹⁷ and Tinkers Gully in July, where he was a shareholder in a water race in Thompson's Gully.⁹⁸ He sold his shareholdings in September, 1864,⁹⁹ moving to open his Bendigo Gully store with William Smith.¹⁰⁰ He is not found in the official records again until he applied for a slaughterman's license as part of his Bendigo Gully establishment in 1868,¹⁰¹ although in October 1866 his store was listed as one of two places that a share in the Aurora Sluicing Company could be purchased.¹⁰² Intriguingly, George Hassing credits miners working their way over Thompson's Saddle with the full exploitation and development of the Bendigo field, making O'Donnell's part in the establishment of the field significant, and relatively easy to locate in terms of a date. In 1869, Charles O'Donnell replaced his sod and canvas structure with a substantial stone building. In 1869, he replaced his sod and canvas structure with a stone store, hotel and residence building and in 1876 would expand his store to include a butchery and bakery.¹⁰³ The last store and hotel operating at Bendigo, it finally closed in 1906, when he abandoned it following the death of his wife. The roofless ruin (illustrated

⁹⁵ Dunstan Warden's Court Plaintiff Record Book 1862-65, Entry for May, 1863, Archives NZ Dunedin Office, DADO Acc D557 130c.

⁹⁶ 'The Dunstan', *Southland Times*, 4 August 1863, p. 3.

⁹⁷ 'Tuapeka', *Otago Witness*, 13 February 1864, p. 12.

⁹⁸ Record of application for registration of a water race at Thompson's Gully by Charles O'Donnell and four others, 15 August 1864, Clyde Warden's Court Applications, Archives NZ Dunedin Office, ABBO Acc D98 7299.

⁹⁹ Clyde Warden's Court Transfers, Archives NZ Dunedin Office, ABBO Acc D98 7416.

¹⁰⁰ 'Cromwell', *Dunstan Times*, 19 October 1866, p. 1.

¹⁰¹ March, 1868 entry in Cromwell Magistrate Court Judgement Record Book 1867-71, Archives NZ Dunedin Office, DADO Acc D557 207c.

¹⁰² Advertisements, *Dunstan Times*, 19 October 1866, p. 1.

¹⁰³ Magistrate's Court, *Cromwell Argus*, 6 June, 1876, p. 3.

above in FIGURE 4.3) remains in remarkably good condition in Bendigo Gully, where it is protected within an historic reserve.

The documentary evidence shows that if Hassing, Smith and O'Donnell were active participants in the events of early Bendigo, they could not have been there any earlier than early August, 1864, while George Blanchard's decision to shift over to the West Coast means that it could not have begun any later than September, 1865.

Concrete support for a late 1864 date is provided by the fact that in September, 1864, the police at Cromwell changed from referring to 'Rocky Point' in their Occurrences Book,¹⁰⁴ to talking about 'Bendigo Gully.' This is the earliest official primary source reference to Bendigo as a location I have found. The earliest newspaper reference to Bendigo Gully occurs when gold was contributed to the New Zealand Exhibition held in Dunedin in February, 1865. That the area was not initially called Bendigo is confirmed at in a 1874 retrospective in the *Witness*, which discussed the quartz mining story of Bendigo, 'In 1863 gold-bearing quartz was found upon the surface of several of the little chain of hills which are known now as Bendigo'.¹⁰⁵

Examining Hassing's report in the light of this supporting evidence suggests that all the 1863 information is an extended aside by a master story-teller and may be treated parenthetically:

Fifty-eight years ago,

(when Fox's rush took place, miners and packers from the Dunstan were unable to cross the Upper Clutha, in order to reach the new rush, unless they travelled up the eastern side of the river as far as Albertown, where at that time I had a ferry established. A few months afterwards, or early in 1863, another ferry was started at Rocky Point by two enterprising fellows known as Pat and Charley [who] sold out to George Rainer and William Rankin),

good payable gold was struck in Bendigo Gully about this time by a party who came over the Dunstan Range from Thomson's Gully or Tinker's. ... I bought out Rainer and Rankin and put on a new boat. Soon about 150 miners took up claims and located themselves in the gully, and things began to liven.¹⁰⁶

All the evidence I have located in contemporary sources makes it clear that a date of

¹⁰⁴ Cromwell Police Station Occurrences Book No. 2, from June 1864 to July 1865, The first reference to Bendigo Gully is dated 11 September 1864, Archives NZ Dunedin Office, DAKU D383 Box 1.

¹⁰⁵ 'Letters from the Goldfields – Cromwell District', *Otago Witness*, 22 August 1874, p. 7.

¹⁰⁶ George Magnus Hassing, 'A Memory of Bendigo', *Otago Witness*, 14 February 1922, p. 63.

mid to late 1864 start date for Bendigo is likely with the reports of the Gully ‘rising in repute’ in 1865, with Warden Stratford recording 120 miners at work there in July, 1865¹⁰⁷ (note that the warden’s regulations required a monthly report which included an estimated census for each settlement area, report which would later be sub-divided into ‘miners and Chinese.’ The Dunstan warden would not have missed 150 miners in an area like Bendigo Gully in 1862 or 1863, but it is easy to see how ten to fifteen miners or so would be ignored as not worthy of separate comment or tally. 1864 is also consistent with the interest shown by Christian Hansen and his fellow Swedish miners in the Rise and Shine Valley, upstream from Bendigo Gully. They first applied for a water race in Smoker’s Creek near Thompson’s Gully in July, 1864, re-submitting their application in December of that year to bring water westwards from Tipperary Gully to the area encompassing the headwaters of the Bendigo Creek.¹⁰⁸

George Hassing confirms this thesis in a 1901 letter to the *Witness* headed ‘A Reminiscence of the “Old Man” Flood’, where he recounts his experience of the massive flood of June, 1863 that caused widespread destruction throughout the goldfields. In passing, he states his residence in 1863 as Sandy Point, not Bendigo.¹⁰⁹ This is also confirmed in the lengthy obituary published in the *Otautau Standard and Wallace County Chronicle*.¹¹⁰

Bendigo Gully (without bearing that name) was prospected in late 1862 according to the first miner there, Joseph Dods, who also admitted that not enough was found there for him to persist.¹¹¹ Its position, athwart two major traffic routes and beside a busy ferry means that miners would test the ground as they passed through. Indeed, the late 1862 date was confirmed in 1874 by the Cromwell correspondent of the *Otago Witness*, who stated that miners coming south from the Lindis rush were the first there¹¹², a statement supported in 1887 by Vincent Pyke in *The Story of the Early Gold Discoveries in Otago*.¹¹³ It is equally likely that it was worked on an inconsistent, if low-key basis throughout 1863 and into early 1864, without attracting enough miners or earning sufficient results or notoriety to gain a name separate to Rocky Point, until the sluicing claims of mid-1864 increased its potential.

¹⁰⁷ ‘Cromwell’, *Dunstan Times*, 15 July 1865, p. 2.

¹⁰⁸ Record of application for application to construct a water race out of Tipperary Gully and out to Rocky Point, 20 December 1864, Archives NZ Dunedin Office, Clyde Warden’s Court Applications, ABBO Acc D98 7299.

¹⁰⁹ ‘A Reminiscence of the “Old Man” Flood’, *Otago Witness*, 14 August 1901, p. 71.

¹¹⁰ Obituary, George Magnus Hassing, Pioneer Historian, *Otautau Standard and Wallace County Chronicle*, 8 January 1929, p. 4.

¹¹¹ Appendix to the Journals of the House of Representatives, 1878 Session I, I-01a, Goldfields Committee, (Report of, On Petition of Daniel James Moore, Together with Minutes of Evidence.) I.—IA 1878. NEW ZEALAND. Brought up 11th October 1878, p. 4.

¹¹² ‘Quartz Mining at Cromwell – Bendigo’, *Otago Witness*, 22 August 1874, p. 7.

¹¹³ Pyke, V., *The Story of the Early Gold Discoveries in Otago*, Chapter XII, in *Otago Witness*, 21 January 1887, p. 14.

The Bendigo Gully Field

What changes led to Bendigo Gully attracting enough alluvial miners to catch the attention of the warden and newspaper correspondents, given so many years of neglect and inconsistency?

The biggest influence was the increased volume of water in Bendigo Creek, when its flow began to be supplemented 1864 by the Rise and Shine sluicers, who brought 12 sluice heads of water from the Tipperary Stream on the other side of the Dunstan Range.¹¹⁴ In 1866, the Aurora Syndicate's water from their massive Devil's Creek race doubled this capacity again. Greater water flow meant miners were 'enabled to work ground that baffled all the energy of former miners.'¹¹⁵ With the diminution of payable river claims, the rich alluvial areas of Central Otago were increasingly worked by sluicing syndicates and company men. Bendigo Gully thus became attractive for individual miners who sought the opportunity continue to work for themselves, so miners made their way to those fields still offering opportunity.

The consensus of opinion held that Bendigo Gully was never a rich field, with comments like Mr Warden Simpson's statement 'There are no very rich workings in this locality — and, on the other hand, there are none getting less than fair wages',¹¹⁶ and the *Dunstan Times* correspondent's opinion that miners could earn 'very steady and satisfactory wages',¹¹⁷ but it was consistent, did not require large amounts of capital to develop claims, and had water in good quantities. This all made for a population and business boom, and Hassing's descriptions of exciting times at Bendigo in 1864-5. FIGURE 4.4 shows the only known photograph of miners at work in Bendigo Gully. Given the substantial workings shown, it probably shows the work of one of the sluicing syndicates working there after 1878 (when the removal of the Cromwell Company's Solway battery allowed large-scale alluvial mining to recommence there).

¹¹⁴ See Chapter 5 of this thesis.

¹¹⁵ 'Bendigo Gully', *Dunstan Times*, 26 April 1867, p. 2.

¹¹⁶ 'Warden's Reports – Cromwell', *Otago Witness*, 15 July 1865, p. 11.

¹¹⁷ 'Bendigo Gully', *Dunstan Times*, 26 April 1867, p. 2.



FIGURE 4.4 Alluvial miners in Bendigo Gully c. 1878. Photograph courtesy of the R. W. Murray Collection, used with permission.

It is clear that until late 1864, Bendigo Gully was not worked seriously, that few miners were involved, that the field was at best a ‘tucker’ one, and that the events recounted by George Magnus Hassing involving 150 miners swarming over the gully, took place at least eighteen to twenty-four months later than everyone has assumed from his story.

Such precision is not an issue in a stable, settled society. But in the mercurial history of the Central Otago gold field, eighteen months can represent almost a whole generation of mining activity, and the start date of the alluvial area would have a profound impact on teasing out the detail of when Bendigo became famous as a quartz mining area in 1869-70. Tracing the beginning date of areas like Bendigo reveal more about how the commerce and society of the goldfields developed than mere study of gold yields could ever do.

Given its location on the New Zealand gold rush time line as a settlement of 1864, Bendigo becomes important as one of the few new fields to develop as the easier-won Otago gold petered out and the new rush on the West Coast emerged to draw attention, miners and commerce away.

Conclusion

On the face of it, locating the precise date for and development of a goldfields settlement, apart from changing a pervasive and persistent historiographical myth, makes for an interesting series of vignettes into an undoubtedly fascinating history and no more.

But there are many other goldfields town twins to Bendigo Gully. Drunkenwoman's Creek, Drybread, Māori Point, Hamiltons, Styx, Garibaldi, Blackstone Hill, German Creek, Campbell's, Chamonix, Conroy's Gully and any one of three dozen or more alternatives are former urban centres which, in the absence of significant or explored archaeological remains, slide into obscurity as unlamented lost memories. Untangling the story of Bendigo Gully revealed not only a full and exciting goldfields history – exciting even without the usual simplistic myths – and showed the range of narratives of remarkable characters that occupied these quintessential rush settlements. It also makes clear not only the hidden depths of the history to be elucidated at each, but goes some way to explaining the *raison d'être* for the towns and the reasons for ebbs and flows in mining, population and business.

Chapter 3 revealed a persistent historical myth about class; this chapter rights another one about a place. Myths of the gold-rush obscure the truth, especially the truth of the complex sociological narratives behind the ghost town that remains. It is worth setting the record straight.

Look, the bones in the graveyards
 hereabouts, how do we discern
 what sort of impact each performer had
 in a place where the nor'westers
 blow so hard they topple headstones
 and send iron sheets whirling
 like dervishes though not in ecstasy.

Look, on hillsides lie the skeletons
 of other creatures whose passings are
 randomised, unrecorded. So maybe
 we can't call it theatre country after all
 unless theatrics are arcane productions
 rehearsed elsewhere, showcased here.

Brian Turner¹¹⁸

¹¹⁸ Brian Turner, 'Theatre Country' in *Just This* (Wellington, Victoria University Press, 2009), p. 33.

Chapter 5 – Creation of Community: cooperative mining endeavours

Introduction

Sluicing and quartz mining, the two most productive and long-lived mining methods of the Central Otago gold rush, are under-represented in celebrations, re-enactments and depictions. These were the hard graft, unromantic, industrial forms of mining which required financing, engineering expertise, shareholders and had miners employed on wages rather than working their own claim. They also represent the most complex of financial, mechanical and engineering structures on the goldfield. One of the most under-reported aspects of goldfields life and work, and which is generally missing from historic reserve interpretation panels and commentary, is the very long lead-times for the development of such enterprises. Visitors to an old quartz stamper battery cannot see the years, vast expense and sheer physical effort it took to get a claim to the point that the crushing plant was built, nor do they see the effort to get water power to it. Likewise, an old sluicing area hides its engineering and organisational legacy behind its relatively anonymous landscape of ruin.

This chapter looks at quartz paired with sluicing, to examine the move to collectivisation of mining endeavours. As with other aspects of my research, this is closely linked with the heritage that remains. The study is limited to one small valley in the headwaters of the Bendigo Creek, since it offers an ideal case study of community and mining enterprise and engineering evolution. The first half elucidates the activity around one mining water race, the Rise and Shine. The second examines the quartz mining that this water race also powered, revealing a history of nearly 80 years work. It also points to the complexities inherent in any attempt to elucidate the mining history of centres of the gold era. I examine sluicing first, because that form of mining generally developed before quartz claims were considered.

Rise and Shine Valley Mining Community, Part One: Sluicing

Central to the populist Otago goldfields narrative is the miner rejoicing as golden wealth is found in Skippers Canyon or the remarkable riches of the Arrow, Conroy's Gully, Doctors Point or other famous gold locales. This mythic lonely-but-cheerful miner 'making his pile' in some isolated corner of the province is pervasive in popular culture, is a trope which is

revisited and reinforced in re-enactments and commemorations and was significant in recent sesquicentennial celebrations of the rush. But this is a fallacy; mining alone was sufficiently unusual that men who did it earned the pejorative sobriquet ‘hatter’, and throughout Australasia most miners worked in pairs with a ‘mate’, frequently joining other pairings to form loose associations or informal syndicates.¹ This proved particularly useful for working river-front claims, for shifting obstructions or to access water power, and was crucial to survival in remote area where the obtaining of rations and fuel made the difference between survival and perishing. Even for this microcosm of mining society, community was held to be more important – and more usual – than individual endeavours. The law even enforced this: if four miners combined to work an amalgamated claim and one left, all of their work was imperilled unless they either found a new partner or hired a wage man to cover the absentee.² A ‘hatter’ who left his claim was at the mercy of ‘jumpers’, even if he had the formal protection accorded him of filing for ‘protection’ of his claim.

In Otago, as it did in all fields around the world, the process of mining quickly evolved from the easily-won gold scooped from surface gravels on riverbanks to group endeavours working on a wider scale.³ This suited miners who built houses for their wives and children and who sought a more settled society in their newly-adopted home. These amateur geologists gained expertise in analysing topographical details to locate old river-courses, sank test pits into the strata of dry terraces and learned to perceive slight changes in alluvium to decide where to concentrate their efforts. The scale and expense of exploiting these resources required the abandoning of solitary mining efforts to become large-scale alluvial sluicers.⁴

Sluicing was favoured for gold in the strata of gravels on hill sides and in riverside terraces. Water was conveyed along water races from its source to water guns at the claim site, where gravels were washed down into a ‘tail race,’ trapping the gold and washing waste tailings via a sludge channel into nearby streams. FIGURE 5.1 shows a sluice gun at work,

A correspondent to the *Otago Daily Times* commented after a visit to the Roxburgh area in 1863 ‘what surprised me greatly was occasionally to meet in the most out of the way corners and long distances from other men, the genus “hatter”. How he could live toiling all the long day by himself and no human being with an pale, and a lonely cave in the rocks – no other sound greeting his ear save that of his own voice or the rock of his cradle, but the continuous roar of the river which must be his company by day and the lullaby by night.’, ‘The Dunstan’, 28 October 1863, p. 9.

² When new rushes threatened, it was common practice to send one of the amalgamated claims group to evaluate the new ground, while the other three protected his and the others claim. For example, see: ‘The Dunstan’, *Otago Daily Times*, 9 December 1863, p. 10.

³ ‘The Goldfields’, *Otago Daily Times*, 18 December 1863, p. 1.

⁴ Editorial, *Otago Daily Times*, 11 July 1864, p. 4.

where the alluvium is washed down the gully into a sluice box. As claims were developed, larger stones were stacked or mounded, creating distinctive tailings.



Figure 5.1 Sluicing Claim, Blue Spur (Tuapeka) c. 1894. Note the use of stacked stones to anchor the sluice gun prior to the development of the swivel-mounted ‘monitor’ water cannons. The two men in the centre-left of the picture are shaping the sluice face and tail race of the next area of the claim to be developed (to ensure that the gold-rich wash goes in the right channel), the worker standing in the stream has a multi-tined sluice fork used to lift larger stones out of the stream, while the face man in the centre-right uses a pick to break up concretions and to keep the race flowing in the main centre channel. Photograph from the private collection of G. Duff. Used with permission.

The goldfields landscape of Otago has spectacular reminders of sluicing: the herringbone patterns of the Northburn Reserve at Quartz Reef Point (see FIGURE 5.2) and the moonscape of Bannockburn (see FIGURE 5.3) reveal the work of many groups of miners over several decades. Neville Ritchie studied these, and in his ‘Archaeological Interpretation of Alluvial Gold Tailings Sites’⁵ reveals the variety of the tailings types and refutes the popular idea that only Chinese miners stacked tailings neatly, while Europeans discarded stones untidily.

⁵ Neville Ritchie, ‘Archaeological Interpretation of Alluvial Gold Tailings Sites, Central Otago, New Zealand’ in *New Zealand Journal of Archaeology*, 1981 3:51-69.



FIGURE 5.2 Sluicing tailings at Northburn Station, Quartz Reef Point. Photograph L. Carpenter 2011



FIGURE 5.3 The sluiced landscape of Bannockburn. Note the contrast of the untidy stone piles when compared with the neat 'herringbone' tailings of Northburn above in FIGURE 5.2. Photograph L. Carpenter, 2012.

Just as distinctive are the high vertical scarps which mark the limit of the sluicers' guns' reach, which may be seen around the province, even if, in many cases, the tailings associated with them have been rehabilitated into pasture by modern farmers. Some of the

most spectacular of these landforms are the peculiar man-made ‘buttes’ which mark the areas which delineated the boundary between neighbouring claims and which were left unworked, to avoid boundary disputes and the stiff penalties from encroachment under mining law.



FIGURE 5.4 Bannockburn: note the ‘butte’ formation in the centre, where a claim boundary delineated two mining claims.

An example of one of these remarkable structures may be seen in the above picture at Bannockburn, while more may be seen on Northburn Station and in the Aurora workings in Bendigo Gully. The environmental damage wrought by the big guns reveal the basis for California’s decision to ban large-scale sluicing in 1884.⁶

Faint Lines on the Landscape

My interest in these syndicated endeavours was sparked by the sight of the faint, level lines crossing the hillsides in near anonymity throughout Central Otago, their purpose and history as lost as the water they once carried. Some are still used for agriculture and irrigation, but for most, the faint trace is all that remains. At Bannockburn, the faint traces of old water races

⁶ J.S. Holliday, *Rush for Riches: Gold Fever and the Making of California*, (University of California Press, San Francisco, 1999), p. 274.

on the landscape reaches its apotheosis, with some areas revealing layered races, with some even criss-crossing others as differing enterprises won water rights to apply to their claim (see FIGURE 5.5).



Figure 5.5 Marks on the landscape: Old mining water races at Stewart Town (above Bannockburn, Central Otago), looking east. Six separate water races traverse this spur. Photograph L. Carpenter 2012.



FIGURE 5.6: The network of old mining water races and storage dam at Stewart Town. The spur in Figure 5.4 is in the lower centre. Photograph courtesy of Kevin Jones, Kevin L. Jones Archaeology Ltd., used with permission.

Kevin Jones' aerial photograph illustrates the complexity of the race patterns around Stewart Town and also shows the large storage dam constructed to allow for conservation of the

scarce water resource (FIGURE 5.6). The process leading to these marks on and changes in the landscape was lengthy. Sluicing enterprises were never straightforward, since they required syndicates of miners, interaction with the goldfields administration, and the identification of and a claim on, water in the required quantities from a reliable source. Water rights were defined by legislation in terms of 'sluice heads of water'⁷ drawn, minimum flow required to be left and the fees per head per year. Unlike Australia where shortages were the norm, in Otago getting water from where it was found to where it was needed was a task of mastering topography. As the anonymous Otago miner published in an 1864 edition of Dickens' *Household Words* lamented, 'Victoria wants fencing in; this island wants hammering flat'⁸ and miners who set out to conquer the terrain to bring water to their claims proved his aphorism daily.

The desire to win gold by the most efficient means possible was the impetus to mining syndication; the effect of such collective efforts was to create communities, where once only clusters of individuals worked. Communities meant women, settling down with families and homes; in particular, it meant a transition from the larrikinism of rush behaviour towards a maturing and a growing up. Sluicing endeavours are therefore representative of significant societal evolution on the goldfield.

Building the water race: financing

Constructing water races represented a bigger problem than merely mastering topography; miners had to forgo other more immediately remunerative (but presumably lesser long-term) mining opportunities. They had pay for tools and engineering expertise plus, in bare treeless Otago, supplies of expensive wood and had to finance food and fuel for up to a year or more. A report in the *Otago Witness* put the cost of water races at £50-60⁹ per mile for a small, 2-3 head race, emphasising that such costs were considerably higher if difficult ground had to be traversed and adding that recent projects had significantly exceeded this estimate: McAuliff's

⁷ The *Grey River Argus* offers a simpler definition than the 1866 Gold Fields Act: 'a sluice head comprises 20in with 7in pressure, which is estimated in round numbers to be half a cubic foot of water per second ; this running continuously for ten hours gives 18,000 cubic feet, or nearly 112,500 gallons of water to a head.' (20 January 1873, p. 2).

⁸ Anonymous, 'A Gold Digger's Notes', in (Ed.) Charles Dickens, *All the Year Round*, Vol.10, (258) 2 April 1864, p. 186.

⁹ Miners employed on wages earned around £4 per week in 1863. It was a wage which attracted miners without hesitation. An unskilled builder's labourer in 2013 earns around \$16 per hour (\$640 per week) in New Zealand. To make a rough comparison based on equivalent spending power, for a cost comparison and making £4 the equivalent of \$640 per week, £50-60 in 1863 represents a cost in 2013 dollars of about \$8,000 - \$9,600. This would make the cost of McAuliff's £800 race around \$128,000 in 2013 dollars.

5 mile race on the Teviot required three-quarters of a mile of wooden fluming along a gorge, consuming 8000 feet (2430 m) of timber and nine months of construction time and cost £800, while the Grand Junction water race at the Upper Shotover, although only 2.5 miles in length, took a year to construct and 25,000 feet of timber (7600m) to complete.¹⁰

Financing was problematic. In the early days, merchants extended credit to miners while they built a race.¹¹ But as the business environment became more sophisticated and the population swelled, informal financing could not continue. What emerged was a system of complex arrangements based the Victorian ‘sleeper’ investing shareholders and ‘working’ miner shareholders combining on a project.¹² Under this system ‘sleepers’ continued their business while contributing the equivalent of a labourer’s wage to the syndicate, while ‘actives’ dug the race and drew a wage.¹³

A third system was rarely used due to the economic burden involved, but had miners with sufficient reserves employing labourers to construct the race, then working the claim on their own account when the water flowed. Earnings were not diluted by other shareholders, but the disadvantage was the large financial reserves required before construction began and all the risk was the miners’ own. This was the system employed by the syndicate which is the subject of this chapter, but how they had the wherewithal to do this remains a mystery.

Building the water race: construction

In the early days, the process of building water races was predominantly the preserve of gold miners acting as self-taught engineers and surveyors, although this would change with the development of large shareholder or government-backed projects like the Ida Valley, Bannockburn and Carrick race companies of the 1880s. Small groups of men wielding shovels, pickaxes and rudimentary surveying equipment built water races criss-crossing the landscape of Central Otago, and the continued use of these for agricultural purposes today testifies to the quality of their construction.

James H. Hackett, the engineer geologist who travelled with Dr James Hector on many of his expeditions was asked to write a column for the *Otago Daily Times* detailing

¹⁰ ‘Gold Mines and Mining Operations’, *Otago Witness*, 22 October 1864, p. 1.

¹¹ John Gauld Bremner, *The Mt. Ida Goldfields – a Merchant's Memories*, (Ed.) Jack Rutherford, (Naseby, Maniatoto Early Settlers Association, 1988), p. 15.

¹² ‘News of the Week’, *Otago Witness*, 12 August 1865, p. 11.

¹³ This system is discussed in detail in Chapter 6 of this thesis (looking at the Nil Desperandum company, 1864) and in the examination of the work of the merchants of the goldfields in Chapter 8.

how to build a race.¹⁴ He described two projects offering salutary lessons: one cut a race along a rock-bound valley for several miles (similar to the Slaty Creek operation built in the 1890s and shown in FIGURE 5.7 below), when a strong dam at the mouth of the creek would have given ten times the supply at a fraction of the cost; a second took six men five months to complete and failed due to a capricious supply.



Figure 5.7 Water Race Fluming - Gorge: Taitapu Gold Estate, fluming Slaty Creek. Nelson Provincial Museum, Tyree Studio Collection: 182060, used with permission

Hackett recommended using professional surveyors, but admitted that this was seldom viable for mining syndicates with limited means. In his article he described how, as well as brute force and basic digging tools, the main piece of equipment was a triangle, made of three pieces of batten in the shape of an inverted V with a bar placed across and a lead ‘plum’ hanging from the top point to below the crossbar. The centre of the crossbar was marked so that the plum line passed through the centre and a sight was able to be taken along it. This afforded the precise measurement of the critically important ‘fall’ of the water race, generally between 4 and 8 feet to the mile. The control of water velocity and the avoidance of quantities of standing water which prompted leaks and breakages were significant in the

¹⁴ James H. Hackett, ‘Sluicing and the Formation of Water-Races’, *Otago Daily Times*, 30 January 1865, p. 5.

construction. According to Australian archaeologist Michael Tracey, not only the velocity of the flow was critical, but its consistency mattered too:

If the velocity of the flow increased and by decreasing the slope or gradient, the flow became unstable, and transition from laminar to turbulent or dynamic flow took place... eddies formed and transferred momentum over distances varying from a few millimetres, to several metres eventually causing erosion of the race walls and basal layer.¹⁵

Tracey describes a goal of ‘Super Critical Flow’ in the race, identifying the twin problems of dynamic flow and laminar flow, where in the former ‘too much of an angle on the race bed will rapidly erode the race, waste water and eventually destroy the race’ and for the latter, ‘too narrow of an angle on the race bed will slow the water and transported sediments will eventually settle and fill in the race’.¹⁶

Hackett described the process of building the race as cutting a small ditch for a quarter of a mile in advance and allowing water to run through, thereby softening the ground for proper cutting and allowing a check of the levels. When covering ground that was ‘gravelly’, he recommended that the fall be reduced to prevent eroding the sides and that the area of the water race traversing such ground had to be heavily lined with clay built up over days of careful packing by the builders. When the race was opened, the first water sent down was always heavily thickened with mud to reline the entire length, a process that was regularly repeated to maintain the race.

Where steep gullies or water courses had to be crossed or rocky spurs had to be traversed, box fluming or iron pipes were employed (examples may be seen on State Highway 8 in the Cromwell Gorge, 9.4 kilometres south of the intersection with SH8A, as shown in FIGURE 5.8 below). If the sides of the hill were too steep to facilitate a benched terrace, dry stone ledges were built up to carry either the race or box fluming, such as that in FIGURE 5.9, which shows the terracing from the 1875 Cromwell water supply project..

¹⁵ Michael M.Tracey, ‘No Water - No Gold: Hydrological Technology in Nineteenth Century Gold Mining - An Archaeological Examination’ in R. K. and M. M. Tracey (eds.) *The Australian Historical Mining Association: Conference Proceedings 1996*, Home Planet Design and Publishing, Canberra, 1997, pp. 12-13.

¹⁶ Michael M.Tracey, pers. comm. (email) 20 April 2012.



FIGURE 5.8 Above and Below: Fluming, Pipes from an historic water race; these may be seen on State Highway (SH) 8 in the Cromwell Gorge, 9.4kilometre south of the intersection with SH8A



FIGURE 5.9 Drystone ledges were built up to carry either the race or box fluming, found at the southern end of the Old Cromwell Reservoir walking track on SH8, just south of the Deadmans Point bridge to Cromwell.

The ingenuity of the race builders was almost limitless. Tunnels or slots were bored through solid rock, wooden flumes bridged wider streams (see FIGURE 5.10) or traversed

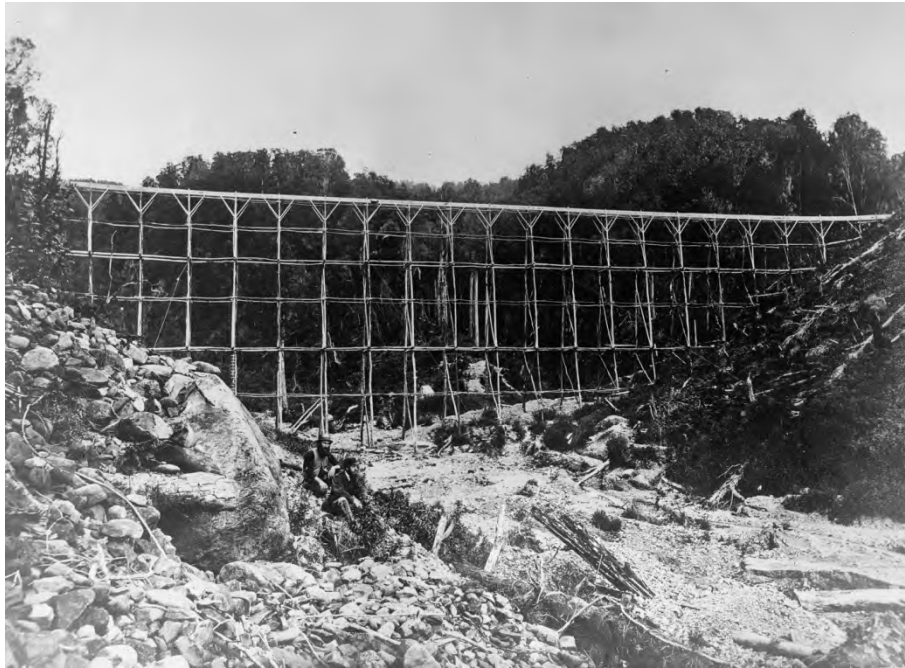


Figure 5.10 Water Race Fluming - Bridging: Fluming at the Jones Creek amalgamated water race crossing. Ref: PAColl-6348-40. Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, New Zealand, used with permission.

rock-bound gorges, and canvas pipes were suspended from wire ropes suspended over chasms too wide to bridge, like Jack Garrett's claim near the Roaring Meg taking water across the Kawarau Gorge to otherwise unworkable ground¹⁷.

At the terminus of the race near the sluice face, the flow of the water race was conveyed into pipes (at first, canvas, then bituminised cardboard and later cast iron). Tracey refutes the frequently expressed belief that it was the slope of the water race that generated pressure for sluicing, stating instead that 'the water pressure for sluicing was generated by the head of water contained in a water tower or pipe combined with the eventual constricting of the flow of water by a reduction in the diameter in the pipe itself and in the monitor, giant or nozzle'.¹⁸ The water guns played on the wash face to bring down the alluvium into the tail race, built to take advantage of the slope and to facilitate both the trapping of gold and the washing away of the spoil. Teams of miners worked in the freezing mists of the hose's wash, breaking up concretions with picks or hammers and using sluice forks to lift large stones away, all the while aware that if the hoseman inadvertently overloaded the gravel sluice face they worked under, they were imperilled by the possibility of a slump. Such fears were hardly

¹⁷ Water race application signed by H. Paddon, Thomas Elliot, John W. Garrett and Robert Bovill, date 12 April 1864. This application met with an objection, which indicates both that Garrett had let his miner's right lapse and that the enterprise had been working there since January 1864; Clyde Warden's Court Applications, Archives New Zealand Dunedin Office, ABBO Acc D98 7299.

¹⁸ Michael M. Tracey, 'No Water - No Gold', p. 6.

groundless, with Central Otago newspapers recording many deaths of miners caught under ‘falls of earth’ at sluicing claims.

Where syndicates worked well-chosen ground, utilising expertly-built, constantly-filled water races and where the tail races carefully sited and the equipment deftly used, sluicing claims could pay high returns and made some miners wealthy. At Bendigo, the Rise and Shine syndicate remained profitable for over three decades.

The Rise and Shine sluicing syndicate

Rise and Shine Creek is a minor watershed in the catchment of Bendigo Creek on the western flank of the Dunstan Range (see location map, FIGURE 5.12). It was ignored by early miners at Bendigo, because there was insufficient water and its gold was, even by the ‘tucker’ yields of Bendigo Gully, sparsely distributed.¹⁹ No doubt prior to 1864 the area was tried, given the proximity to the old Māori trail over the Dunstan range at Thomsons Saddle used by miners heading for the Arrow and Shotover, but no-one found enough gold to stay.

In mid-1864 this changed. In a development that would prove to be a boon to alluvial miners downstream in Bendigo Gully, a group of mainly Swedish men living at Bendigo and Rocky Point identified the Rise and Shine Valley as good sluicing country. Christian Hanson, Albert Perry, Charles Abelsted, Henry Featherstone, James Peace and Donald Dryborough came up with an ambitious plan²⁰. With insufficient water on their side of the hill they gained the rights to the headwaters of the Tipperary Creek (now Clearwater Creek), which was at a higher altitude and south of Thomsons Saddle. The race they built was of sufficient size and import that it is marked on contemporary maps of Matakanui station.

Not much is known of these men of the Rise and Shine Company, as they came to be known. They had sufficient resources available for them to declare on their January 1865 application that they had 20 men working for them on wages. This was no small undertaking, requiring a wage bill of at least £50 per week to be covered by the resources of the organisers and building a massive water race which, when completed, would be nearly 11 miles long and took around eight months to finish.

¹⁹ Wardens Report, *Otago Witness*, 15 July 1865, p. 11: ‘There are no rich workings in the [Bendigo] locality – and on the other hand, there are none getting less than fair wages’.

²⁰ Hanson, C., Perry, A., Abelsted, C.F., Featherstone, C., Peace, J., Dryborough, D., Water Right Application December 20, 1864, to construct a water race commencing at a point called Tipperary Gully East Bank of the Clutha and terminating at Rocky Point, Clyde Warden’s Court Applications, Archives NZ Dunedin Office ABBO Acc D98 7299.

Newspapers noted miners moving to Bendigo to take advantage of the increased water flow to develop alluvial claims in the lower Bendigo Gully²¹. By November the race was fully operational, the Rise and Shine were sluicing and miners lower down in Bendigo Gully were celebrating ‘an abundant supply of water to the gully’²².

Downstream benefits

The Rip and Tear syndicate took advantage of the increased water flow downstream.²³ In November of 1865 they concluded that the rock-choked narrows of Bendigo Creek’s gorge (between Bendigo Gully and where the gorge debouches onto the flats breasting the banks of the Clutha River) concealed gold reserves. In what was ‘a most trying [work], both to the patience and purse,’ they piled stones, shifted boulders and dug out a new channel for Bendigo Creek and using the increased water, processed the former stream bed to find that ‘the gold may be plainly seen in the wash dirt from the surface to the bed rock.’²⁴ They also unblocked the natural rock bridge which had periodically dammed the gorge, causing havoc in Bendigo Gully. After a year reshaping the gorge and stream bed, they enjoyed several months of reward, becoming what the *Dunstan Times* described as ‘the most important claim in the old [Bendigo Gully] workings’.²⁵ However, when they were about half-finished, a flood obliterated their work, mixing unprocessed wash dirt with the stones they had moved aside. It is not clear whether they rebuilt their work or abandoned it, because nothing more is reported of the Rip and Tear men and only the rock bridge they cleared remains of their work in the gorge. This is shown in FIGURE 5.11 and may be reached after a traverse of the Bendigo Stream from the O’Donnell’s Hotel site.

²¹ ‘Mining Notes’, *Dunstan Times*, 12 April 1865, p. 3.

²² ‘News of the Week’, *Otago Witness*, 2 December, p. 13.

²³ ‘Bendigo Gully’, *Dunstan Times*, 26 April 1867, p. 2.

²⁴ ‘Mining’, *Dunstan Times*, 16 August 1867, p. 2.

²⁵ ‘Cromwell’, *Dunstan Times*, 18 February 1868, p. 2.



Figure 5.11 Rip and Tear Ground, Bendigo Gully: Natural Land Bridge, cleared by the Rip and Tear Claim, 1867-8. Photograph L. Carpenter 2011.

Meanwhile, the Rise and Shine miners began to enjoy the fruits of their labour and announced that their race carried the 12 sluice heads of water of their license,²⁶ sufficient to work two parts of their claim with sluicing guns²⁷. They were immediately profitable and since they had full rights to the only water in the area, worked throughout the valley at will. This is reflected in rising share prices as syndicate members changed. In December 1865 Henry Featherstone sold his sixth share to his partners for £35²⁸; in January 1866 Alfred Perry sold his share to John Jones for £50²⁹ and then in June, when the syndicate expanded to six shareholders again, Ellis Thomas paid £80 for his share.³⁰

The appearance of Logantown at Bendigo with hotels, grocers, bakery, restaurant and butchery in late 1869³¹ spurred the company to build a 4 mile bridle track from their claim

²⁶ 'Cromwell Goldfields', *Otago Daily Times*, 13 September 1866, p. 5.

²⁷ 'Bendigo Gully', *Dunstan Times*, 26 April 1867, p. 2.

²⁸ Henry Featherstone, Certificate of share transfer, 2 December 1865, Archives New Zealand, Dunedin Office, Clyde Warden's Court Applications, ABBO Acc D98 7302.

²⁹ John Jones, Record of Share Transfer, Clyde Warden's Court, Miners Rights 6021 ja 22/2 Archives New Zealand Dunedin Office, DADO Acc D557 124.

³⁰ 'Local and General', *Otago Daily Times* 17 May 1866, p. 4.

³¹ 'Bendigo Reefs', *Cromwell Argus* 15 December 1869, p.2.

area to the new town. By 1870, the Rise and Shine had such a good supply of water that they were able to work in three parties, utilising wage men as well as their own labour. Their claim paid consistently, with each shareholder consistently earning £7-10 per week.³² Warden Vincent Pyke describes them as ‘noteworthy for their engineering and success’ and commented on their ‘application’ and ‘enterprise’ in his reports.³³

Quartz gamblers in the Rise and Shine

In late 1869, downstream from the Rise and Shine workings, Welsh miner Sam Williams discovered auriferous quartz at what became known as the Alta claim (see Part Two: Quartz). The Rise and Shine were happy to rent their tail water to the new venture, but carried on sluicing. When it came to quartz claims, Bendigo was a place which attracted fevered speculation and rash investment decisions as quartz prospectors sought to emulate the spectacular successes of Thomas Logan’s Cromwell Company. Every company that is, with the exception of the Rise and Shine.

But gold-bearing quartz was nearby. In 1871, a year after a bewildering series of boom-and-bust quartz claims were worked in the Bendigo hills, a reef was found east of the Rise and Shine; two miles above them and over the saddle in Thomsons Creek.³⁴ Given the dearth of paying quartz claims, the Rise and Shine men seem to have shrugged and carried on with their sluicing claim. And in a continuing reminder of just how valuable their water resource was, in mid-1871 it was rented a second time, this time by the Koh-i-noor syndicate who constructed a race to sluice the low-lying spurs between Shepherds Creek and Bendigo. Their intake was just below the outfall for the Alta Company’s quartz mill, and took about one-third of the available flow.³⁵

The conservative development of the Rise and Shine ground does not mean that the shareholders were geologically ignorant, and they realised that the gold they were getting, given that it sometimes had quartz adhering to the flakes, had its origin in a reef nearby.³⁶ In July they uncovered it on the eastern side of their claim. The *Cromwell Argus*’ local correspondent erupted into paroxysms of joy, declaring that this reef was ‘likely to prove the greatest discovery, so far, in the annals of quartz-reefing in Otago’, confidently declaring

³² Warden’s Reports, *Cromwell Argus* 12 October 1870, p. 2.

³³ Vincent Pyke, ‘Report on the Goldfields’, *Otago Witness* 14 May 1870, p. 15.

³⁴ Vincent Pyke, ‘Warden’s Report’, *Otago Daily Times* 19 January 1871, p. 3.

³⁵ Warden’s Court, *Dunstan Times* 26 October 1866, p. 2; Mining, *Cromwell Argus* 23 May 1871 p. 3.

³⁶ Viator, ‘Bendigo Redivivus’, *Cromwell Argus* 11 June 1872, p. 2.

‘that machinery will be immediately erected, the company possessing a never-failing water supply for motive power’.³⁷ His barely-suppressed excitement continued in the weeks following, describing the discovery as ‘valuable’ and highlighting that he had inspected the reef himself, declaring that ‘the reef shows no diminution, either in width or prospect’.³⁸ The rival *Dunstan Times* provided a little more balance, noting in August that the Rise and Shine men remained sluicing and that while they had found a reef, nothing more was done about it.³⁹

They continued to expand their sluicing ground⁴⁰ and by September 1871 the Rise and Shine was the only sluicing company working at Bendigo.⁴¹ The rest either gave up as returns fell or were prevented from working by the Cromwell Company’s legal entitlement to clean water at their battery at the mouth of Bendigo gorge.⁴² When the Solway battery was moved up to the Matilda site in 1879, sluicing resumed in Bendigo Gully and was profitably pursued there into the 1890s by Chinese and European miners.⁴³

The presence of ‘a proven reef’ had newspapermen fulminating against the caution of the Rise and Shine men. The same writers who would later lambast the Alta Company for rashly and prematurely erecting machinery on unproven ground, seethed with frustration at the deleterious hesitancy on the part of the Rise and Shine. Determined to thoroughly prospect their discovery before carrying out any expensive development, the Rise and Shine men sank prospecting shafts and organised assays of the resulting stone. Their main shaft was, they announced, ‘to be sunk to a depth of 50 ft. [15.2 m] and another is to be put down on the side of the range, some distance away’.⁴⁴ The *Argus* kept up their campaign of trying to nudge them into action, declaring that their ‘reef still keeps up its excellent character as the shaft deepens. I think it’s paying nature is already proved beyond a doubt’.⁴⁵

³⁷ ‘Bendigo’, *Cromwell Argus*, 4 July 1871, p. 3.

³⁸ ‘Bendigo’, *Cromwell Argus*, 18 July 1871, p. 2.

³⁹ ‘Bendigo’, *Dunstan Times*, 18 August 1871, p. 2.

⁴⁰ ‘Bendigo’, *Cromwell Argus*, 22 August 1871, p. 3.

⁴¹ ‘Bendigo’, *Dunstan Times*, 1 September 1871, p. 2.

⁴² Warden's Court, *Dunstan Times* 18 March 1870, p. 3.

⁴³ Bendigo Deep Lead Syndicate, H.E. Hamer and F. Soper, Queenstown, Memos range 11 July – 10 September 1934, Archives New Zealand, Mines Department File N10/13/76A,

⁴⁴ ‘Bendigo’, *Cromwell Argus*, 24 October 1871, p. 3.

⁴⁵ ‘Bendigo’, *Cromwell Argus*, 7 November 1871, p. 3.

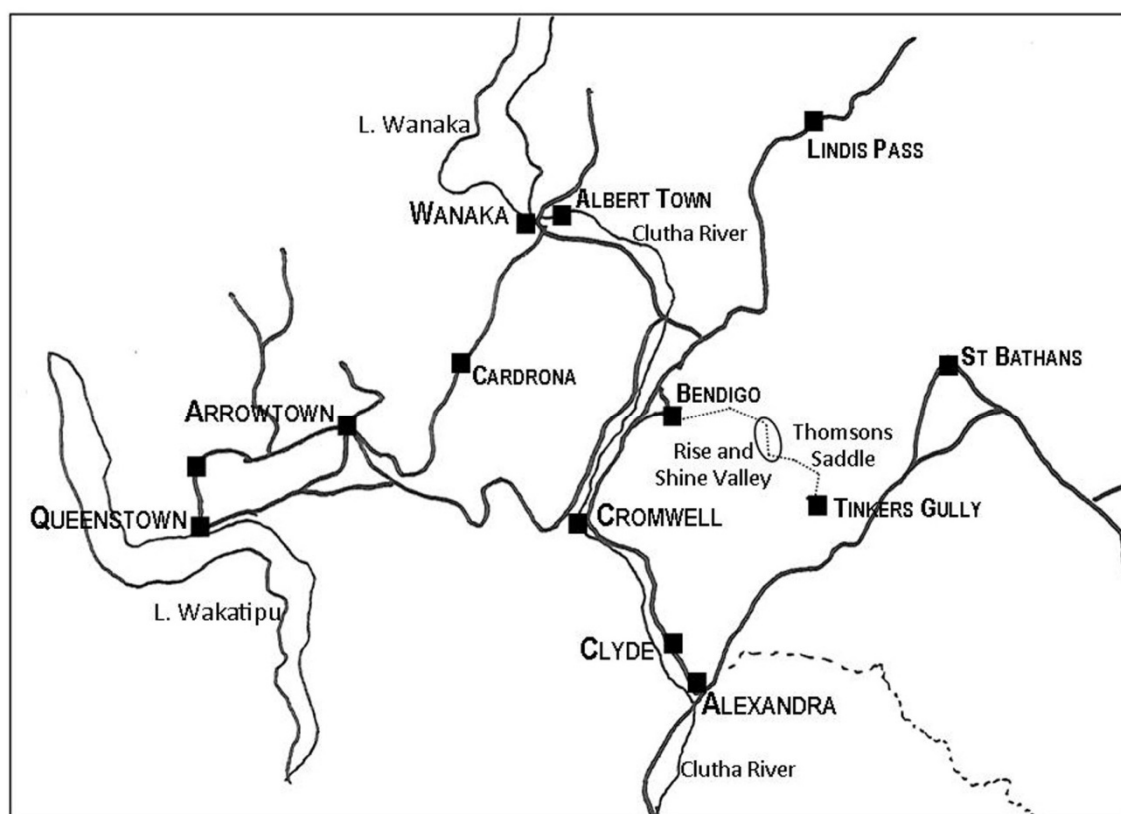


FIGURE 5.12 Location Map, Rise and Shine Valley

The Rise and Shine topography hindered communication and mine development. As they stripped the reef along the spur with sluice guns to gain a better idea of the extent of the auriferous stone, they loaded a dray for a trial crushing at the Alta mill. This trip of less than a mile took two days and wrecked the dray. In the same week, Charles O'Donnell, with a team of six oxen, transferred a ton of coal from the ferry at Wakefield to one of the Rise and Shine households. It was, he reported, a trip which was 'mostly along a razor-backed ridge, so narrow, one wheel would be in Bendigo Gully, the other in Shepherds Creek'.⁴⁶ Given the substantial work that developing their reef and erecting machinery in such terrain would require, and the known costs implicit in mining quartz, the caution shown by the Rise and Shine men is understandable. No reports were published on the result of the trial crushing, but the continuation of the newspapermen's campaign of lament at the syndicate's 'inaction' indicates that the result was not sufficient to induce them to abandon a proven revenue source for the lottery of a quartz claim.⁴⁷

Throughout the first half of 1871 the Rise and Shine Company were, for the first time in their history, blighted by a scarcity of water. They were forced to engage in smaller-scale

⁴⁶ 'Bendigo', *Cromwell Argus*, 5 December 1871, p. 2.

⁴⁷ 'Bendigo', *Cromwell Argus*, 19 December 1871, p. 3.

box-sluicing and the under-utilisation of their manpower saw them renew their quartz interest, to the delight of the *Argus*. They sank two additional shafts, each to a depth of 30 feet (9.1 m), reporting that the ‘stone is very hard, but [that] gold visible throughout’.⁴⁸ Even with such a report, they ignored their quartz and when the water flowed again, they went back sluicing.

The Chinese at Rise and Shine

In 1872, the presence of Chinese miners in the area fed into local prejudices when the Rise and Shine’s tail race was supposedly robbed. Either the result of inattention due to quartz work, or, if the *Argus*’ Bendigo correspondent is to be believed, insufficient security at their tail race meant that an ominous loss was declared: ‘they conclude, given the proximity of the newly-arrived Chinese miners, that their tailrace had been robbed. Heavy gold had been noticed in the race, but was not there in the washing up, proving that an extensive robbery had taken place, as no European miners except the owners are in the locality, the Celestials may with truth be blamed.’⁴⁹

It is hard to tell if this report reflects the bias of a profoundly anti-Chinese correspondent, or whether this reflected the genuine beliefs of the Rise and Shine Syndicate. The Bendigo Correspondent to the *Cromwell Argus* was capable of the most inflammatory polemic about Chinese, whom he derogatively dubbed ‘Celestials’, or merely ‘John’. In August, 1871, he wrote about a ‘local luminary’, who ‘had applied for a *solatium* for bringing the Chinese to Otago’, saying ‘it is a pity that Mr Ho Ah Mee’s application for bringing that moral pest, the celestial, among us, was not referred to the miners. I believe if such had been done, his reward would have been the treatment accorded to terrier pups about to commence active life – viz., amputation of ears and tail, - and a fitting one for his efforts.’⁵⁰

⁴⁸ Viator, ‘Bendigo Redivivus’, *Cromwell Argus*, 11 June 1872, p. 2.

⁴⁹ ‘Bendigo’, *Cromwell Argus*, June 18 1872, p. 3.

⁵⁰ ‘Bendigo’, *Cromwell Argus*, August 22 1871, p. 2.

Unlike most aspects of the rush, writing about the Chinese of the Central Otago goldfield has been particularly thorough. Dr James Ng’s four volume *Windows on a Chinese Past* (Otago Heritage Books, 1993), Neville Ritchie’s doctoral thesis *Archaeology of the Chinese in Central Otago* and articles like Keir Reeves’ *Tracking the Dragon Down Under: Chinese Cultural Connections in Gold Rush Australia and Aotearoa New Zealand* (*Graduate Journal of Asia-Pacific Studies*, 3:1 (2005), 49-66) and current research by Paul MacGregor (Melbourne Chinese Studies Group), Joanna Boileau (University of New England) and Dr Zhiheng Zhang (WLCNZ Institute) all combine to produce a comprehensive, all-embracing and insightful analysis of the rich history of the Chinese in Otago.

This same writer would lambast the ‘Heathen Chinees’⁵¹ for merely being there, commenting on their ‘appearing a different as a pile of coconuts’⁵² and taking exception at how they are ‘taking the place in a face, and washing all before them; and judging from the continual gabble and laughter prevailing, have visions of a subsequent *otium cum dignitate*⁵³ in the Flowery Land as a result of their present untiring industry.’⁵⁴

No charge appears in the Cromwell Police Occurrences Book for the period and no suit was presented in the Plaints Record for the Warden’s Court, so it must be assumed that the matter was unresolved.

Tributer Miners

In 1872 two shareholders, John Jones and Ellis Thomas briefly left the syndicate, to attend to other claims they had shares in at the Roaring Meg field.⁵⁵ They let their shares ‘on tribute’ to some of the company wage men in their absence.

The system of tribute was one which allowed the syndicate to pursue its mining interests on behalf of all shareholders, but with the men who were away taking the temporary status of inactive, or ‘sleeper’ shareholders, they received only that portion of the gold take above a certain (pre-arranged) level. This might take the form of something like ‘any yield in excess of an average of one ounce per week will have thirty percent paid as tribute to the shareholder’. Such agreements were sought after, since they offered above-average wages to the tributer, rewarded hard work, but did not see the shareholder lose out in the event of any ‘bonanza’ finds while they were away. The downside occurred in lean times, when such non-resident shareholders would be expected to contribute to make up for any shortfall in wage totals. They also indicate a level of organisational sophistication built on trust that defined the relationships between miners and shareholders that would be the subject of lawyer’s meetings today. Such relationships were enforceable in the warden’s courts, but breaches appear, if case numbers are indicators, to have been rare.

⁵¹ ‘Bendigo’, *Cromwell Argus*, October 24 1871, p. 2.

⁵² Ibid.

⁵³ Lit. ‘leisure with dignity’.

⁵⁴ ‘Bendigo’, *Cromwell Argus*, June 4, 1872, p. 3.

⁵⁵ ‘Bendigo’, *Cromwell Argus*, July 2, 1872, p. 4.

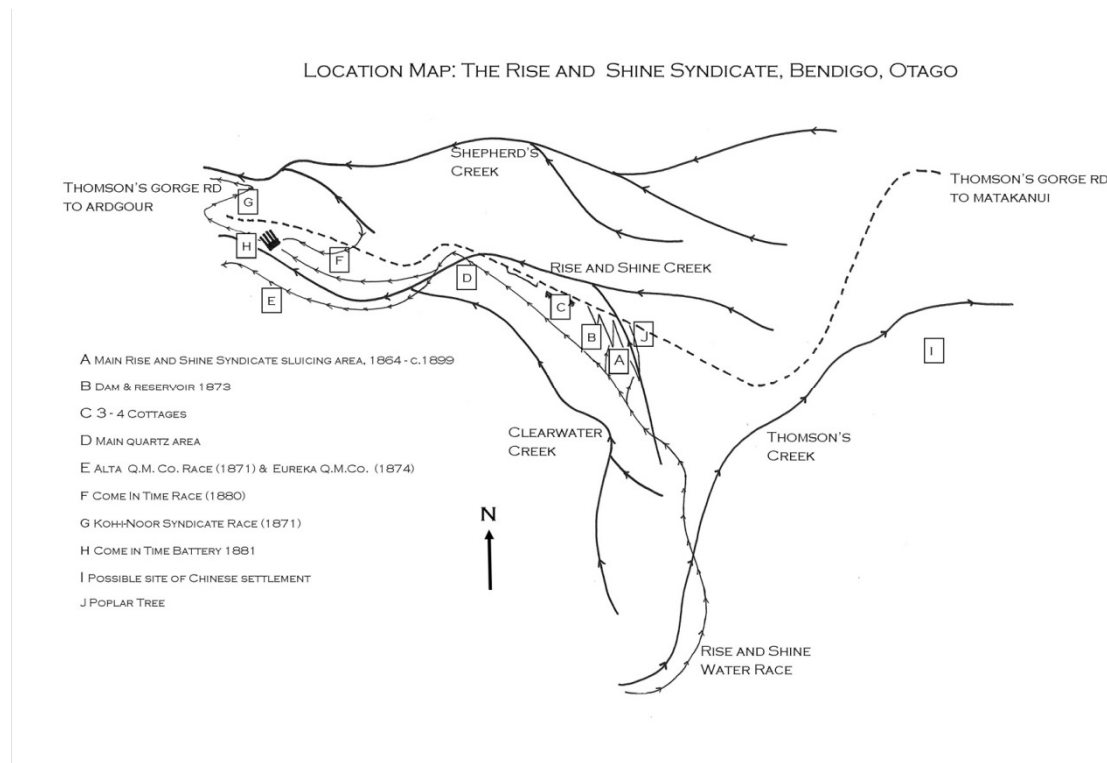


FIGURE 5.13 Rise and Shine Location Map

Droughts and dams

In 1873 the Rise and Shine Company were again hit by drought. The advantage of having the sole rights to the water – and effectively the land – allowed them to move to the lowest point in their claim and construct a dam to husband water overnight for use the next day.⁵⁶ This dam may be found on a spur between the two main gullies in the Rise and Shine working area. Archaeologist Jill Hamel describes this as ‘a well formed reservoir 70 m long and 20 m deep, with an earth wall 3.4 m high in the middle and revetted in two steps on the outside.’⁵⁷

The water shortage lasted until 1875, when faced with a brimming race, they divided into two parties, one using the water two-thirds of the distance up the gully, the other at its foot, where it was re-lifted and worked by the second party.⁵⁸ In 1878, the massive floods that ruined so much mining and farming in the Clutha valley did not leave the Rise and Shine unscathed, clogging their tail-race. However, with what the *Argus* called ‘an inexhaustible supply of water commanding the largest area of auriferous ground of any water race in the

⁵⁶ ‘Bendigo’, *Cromwell Argus* 22 April 1873, p. 2.

⁵⁷ Hamel, J. 1993 *The Rich Fields of Bendigo*, Unpublished Report for the Department of Conservation, p. 20.

⁵⁸ ‘Bendigo’, *Cromwell Argus* 13 October 1875, p. 3.

district', the 'foremost sluicers in the region'⁵⁹ quickly cleared the flood damage and resumed operations with 'satisfactory results' for their half-yearly wash up.⁶⁰

A glimpse into the lives lived by these isolated miners is given in a report in the *Otago Witness* late in 1881:

The Rise and Shine sluicing party have been at work for many years in their claim nearly at the summit of the Dunstan Range. Their claim has always and is now paying good wages, and a more isolated and better contented party of miners cannot be found in New Zealand. With their wives and families they form a small, select, and happy community.⁶¹

This long-running concern finally began to change in 1883, with the sale of one of the shares in the operation offered by founding shareholder James Peace. In the sale offer it is possible to see what an asset he and his confederates had built up over the years.

For sale, one fifth share in the "Rise and Shine" Water-race and Mining Property at Bendigo; also Furnished House with small garden attached, Wash-house and all necessary Out-buildings. This well-known property has been profitably worked by the same party for nearly 20 years, and the only reason for disposing of this is the owner is leaving New Zealand.

The Water-right (a never-failing supply from Thompson's Creek) gives the company a practical monopoly over many miles of known payable country. To anyone wishing to make a home for life this presents an opportunity but seldom met with. Bona fide purchasers can examine gold returns for many years past.

Apply James Peace, Rise and Shine Co, Bendigo.⁶²

The successful purchaser was William Gilbert Mouat, a quartz miner who had worked at Bullendale then as a leading hand in the Cromwell Company mine at Bendigo. Mouat revealed that Peace bought a farm in Australia with his earnings. The Māori language-fluent grandson of Irihapeti Motoitoi and Richard Driver of Port Chalmers, Gilbert Mouat received many Māori visitors to his new four-roomed house, showing them the contents, which included a stove, sewing machine and 'extensive outbuildings'.⁶³ Two years later, Gilbert's brother Dick also bought a shareholding and the two of them worked the claim with the remaining stalwarts of the Rise and Shine.

⁵⁹ 'Bendigo', *Cromwell Argus*, 24 December 1878, p. 2.

⁶⁰ 'Bendigo', *Cromwell Argus*, 22 June 1880, p. 2.

⁶¹ 'Rambles in the Interior, Bendigo and Tarras Districts', *Otago Witness*, 22 October 1881, p. 18.

⁶² Advertisements, *Cromwell Argus* 16 October 1883, p. 2.

⁶³ W.G. Mouat *Devonport Ahoy! Recollections by Gilbert & Dick Mouat, The Memoirs of William Gilbert Mouat 1863 – 1956, Land surveyor, Mine surveyor, Gold Miner, Gold dredge operator, designer & builder, Engineering consultant*. Broad, M.O, (ed.), Dunedin. URL: <http://www.rgreen.org.uk/WGM.html>; updated 2003, Accessed 6 April, 2012.

The Mouats recorded another incident with local Chinese allegedly robbing their tail-race, Gilbert catching a group scooping out wash-dirt by candle-light. The force of their response led to an appearance before the warden, but the Mouats were excused on account of provocation. The Rise and Shine kept on mining and stayed out of the newspapers until 1888, when sluicing magnate John Ewing purchased a one-sixth share in the Rise and Shine from the now ailing Ellis Thomas.⁶⁴

The end of the enterprise

Ewing was developing his massive sluicing claim at Tinkers and proposed to the remaining Rise and Shine men that they share their water right with him, splitting the flow between their sluicing area and a new race he would cut to Tinkers. The Rise and Shine syndicate had to choose: keep working their claim, which may have had falling returns after 25 years of exploitation, or make a deal with the rising star of the sluicing industry, John Ewing. In December 1888 they sold most of their water right to Ewing for £1400⁶⁵ and 35 Ewing employees built a 3 mile race to their ground. The remaining Rise and Shine men either retired, content to live in their homes off the returns of their years of work (Hanson and Russell lived in their homes into the late 1890s⁶⁶, found work at the Cromwell Company's mine or continued sluicing on a small scale with the remnant flow in the race.⁶⁷ They could still sluice, since Ewing was prevented from acquiring all of the Rise and Shine's water by rights held by the Jubilee Quartz Company working near the present-day cattle yards in Rise and Shine Creek. It is not clear who continued sluicing, but this could have been Mouat and his brother or Hanson and Russell. Either way, this saw the effective ending of the longest-lived, continuously-worked gold sluicing enterprises in the history of the Otago gold fields. FIGURE 5.13 gives a perspective on the heritage landscape of the Upper Rise and Shine Valley.

⁶⁴ 'Local and General', *Otago Witness*, 10 February 1888, p. 12.

⁶⁵ 'Mining', *Otago Witness*, 7 December 1888, p. 12; J. McCraw, *The Gold Baron – John Ewing*, *Central Otago's Mining Entrepreneur*, (Alexandra, Central Stories Museum, 2009), p. 72.

⁶⁶ Advertisements, 'Cromwell Hospital Subscribers', *Cromwell Argus*, 12 May 1896, p. 5.

⁶⁷ 'Miscellaneous', *Otago Witness*, 8 October 1891, p. 15.

The Importance of the Rise and Shine Race

The most important archaeology in the Rise and Shine Basin is not the stone cottage ruins or the detritus of quartz mining; it is the nearly-invisible line which modestly crosses the landscape on the true left of the stream: the Rise and Shine water race of 1864-1899 (FIGURE 5.14). This race allowed a group of miners to develop a 35 year mining endeavour; it provided the means to turn Bendigo Gully from a difficult, poor man's field into one which could be worked for solid, if not spectacular wages and allowed the Koh-i-noor and Rip and Tear syndicates to change the landscape in their areas.



FIGURE 5.14: Faint lines on the landscape – the Rise and Shine Water race (here on the slopes above the basin, where the water race comes through a mountain saddle from Matakanui Station in the east). Photograph L. Carpenter, 2012.

Water races are the most significant heritage of alluvial gold fields, as the history of the Rise and Shine water race illustrates. Examination of the spectacular landscapes at Department of Conservation reserves centred on the Northburn herringbone sluicings and at Bannockburn reveal a dramatic, yet incomplete part of what may be found there: the full story is only possible when considering water use. Water allowed sluicing claim development

and facilitated development of hydraulic elevation to extract gold where the topography defeated sluicing and also powered quartz batteries, mine pumps and ventilation.⁶⁸

For the duration of the Central Otago gold rush, water was the conduit for the transformation of miners' fortunes and the countryside they wrought, in the same way that water is transforming the landscape anew for the modern bonanza, the cultivation of the world's best pinot noir vines.

⁶⁸ Peter Petchey's 'Port's Water Race (D46/143), Longwood Range, Southland: The Archaeology & Interpretation of an Extensive Water Race System', *Archaeology in New Zealand* (45(4):223-234, 2003 includes the method for calculating water race volumes; Neville Ritchie's 'Archaeological Interpretation of Alluvial Gold Tailings Sites, Central Otago, New Zealand' in *New Zealand Journal of Archaeology* (1981 3:51-69) surveys scarp development, tailings deposition and distinctive patterns found on sluiced landscapes.

Rise and Shine Valley Mining Community, Part Two: Quartz

Quartz mining lasted longer than any other form of mining in Otago (as it also did in Victoria and New South Wales). Development of quartz claims, by their (mostly) long-term nature, had communities develop where they developed. Again, the facile look at scattered mining detritus must be examined to reveal the multi-layered complexity which is muted by the heritage remains. When a new quartz company began, a community formed around it. Engineers, carters, practical miners,⁶⁹ contract builders, winchmen, a blacksmith, farriers, cooks and merchants all followed. Tracing the establishment of these companies provides a introduction to the community that inevitably followed. However the research which is discussed in this part of this chapter revealed a surprisingly rich history – which was never supported by rich quartz – which therefore showed the true complexity and pattern of community development for the area.

The Alta

In late 1869, Sam Williams named his newly-found quartz claim in the lower Rise and Shine Valley the ‘Alta,’ went into partnership with Brian Hebden of the Cromwell Company, registered the claim⁷⁰ and sank shafts, tracing a reef which was ‘highly crystalline and well impregnated with fine gold’⁷¹ for forty feet. Williams sold his half-share, gaining £275 from each of three investors⁷² who felt the Alta was ‘rising in repute.’⁷³ Shifting to Rocky Point, Williams purchased the tailwater from the Cromwell Company’s Solway battery and constructed a race across the flats to the Clutha River terraces⁷⁴ where he sluiced for five years. He later moved to the Carrick Range to manage the Star of the East quartz mine.⁷⁵

Unlike Thomas Logan of the Cromwell Company who, with his two partners developed their ground on starvation wages over two years of hardscrabble effort, the Alta shareholders were all ‘monied’⁷⁶ men: John Alves was a Dunedin-based architect, builder and inventor⁷⁷ and James Hazlett was a Dunstan storekeeper and commercial agent, an

⁶⁹ Skilled quartz miners.

⁷⁰ ‘Warden’s Court’, *Cromwell Argus*, 15 December 1869, p.2.

⁷¹ ‘Cromwell Goldfields’, *Otago Witness*, 18 December 1869, p.4.

⁷² ‘Bendigo Gully’, *Dunstan Times*, 26 February 1870, p.2.

⁷³ ‘Cromwell’, *Dunstan Times*, 14 January 1870, p.3.

⁷⁴ ‘Cromwell Mining’, *Dunstan Times*, 15 November 1867, p.3.

⁷⁵ ‘Cromwell Quartz Mining’, *Cromwell Argus*, 2 April 1872, p.2.

⁷⁶ ‘Cromwell’, *Dunstan Times*, 14 January 1870, p.2.

⁷⁷ ‘New Buildings’, *Otago Daily Times*, 18 July 1879, p.3; ‘Clyde Courthouse Construction’, 5 December 1873, p.2; ‘Laying the Foundation Stone of the New Presbyterian Church’, *Timaru Herald*, 31 December 1875, p.4;

inaugural Dunstan Councillor and Mayor of Clyde for 1868 – 1872, Justice of the Peace and a director of the Carrick Range Water Supply Company.⁷⁸ William Fraser was the member of the Provincial Council for the Dunstan area 1866 – 76, member for the Dunstan on the Vincent County Council as Chairman 1878 – 93 and entered parliament in 1894 for Wakatipu to become minister for Public Works.⁷⁹ Charles Frederick Johnson was an Otago Mounted Constable who went mining on the West Coast and returned to the Dunstan to farm and work in clerical roles for the court at Clyde and Arrowtown and in 1877 began working for the Colonial Bank of New Zealand, where he was promoted to manager of the Ophir branch.⁸⁰ Lewis Grant was a long-time miner at Bendigo, resident at the town of Bendigo, near the Solway Hotel⁸¹ and James Patterson operated the Old Bendigo Family Hotel at Clyde, briefly opening an hotel of the same name at Logantown in early 1870, before shifting to Dunedin to run Dunedin's Australasian Hotel.⁸² Charles Roberts was a landowner and businessman in Dunedin who shifted to Auckland in the late 1870s.⁸³

These directors confidently and profligately spent their investment funds. They rented the Rise and Shine Syndicate's tail-water, cutting an intake near their tail-race and surveyed a water race to traverse along the valley to reach their battery site a mile downstream from the Rise and Shine ground.⁸⁴ To cart ore for testing at the Aurora public battery at Logantown they widened the Rise and Shine's bridle track.⁸⁵ In their most reckless use of company funds, they opted to purchase a new battery, began construction of roads and then seemingly as an afterthought, called for tenders to shift twelve tons for a trial at the Aurora public mill.⁸⁶

'Advertisement: Notice advising of Patent Application', *Otago Daily Times*, 6 July 1868, p.1; 'Advertisement: Patent for an Invention for the Use and Application of Wire Suspension Tramways', *Otago Witness*, 17 February 1877 p.12 (used at the Fernhill Company's coal mine, Abbotsford – see 'The Aerial Tramway', *Otago Witness*, 1 February 1879, p.20); 'A New Locomotive Furnace', *Otago Daily Times*, 6 October 1881, p.2; 'New Gold-Saving Machine', *Tuapeka Times*, 20 September 1882, p.5;

⁷⁸ 'To Let: Kilgour's Halfway House', *Otago Daily Times*, 25 December 1865, p.2; 'Clyde (Dunstan)', *Otago Witness*, 4 August 1866, p.9; 'Clyde', 5 August 1871, p.11, 'Advertisements: The Carrick Range Water Supply Company Prospectus', *Otago Daily Times*, 6 February 1872, p.1.

⁷⁹ 'Sir William Fraser – Retiring from active politics', *Otago Daily Times*, 13 October 1919, p.6

⁸⁰ 'Supreme Court Criminal Session', *Otago Daily Times*, 3 June 1865, p.5; 'Arrowtown', 5 July 1876, p.5; for example, 'Clyde Warden's Court file Khuhtze vs Goodger', August 1875, Archives New Zealand Dunedin office, DAEQ D573 21688 28; *Otago Daily Times*, April 22, 1878, p.3.

⁸¹ Cromwell Quartz Mining Company Ledger 1868 – c. 1888, Archives of the Hocken Library (Reference Number AG-099)

⁸² 'Country News', *Otago Daily Times*, 26 July 1873, p. 5; 'Advertisements – Australasian Hotel', *Tuapeka Times*, 3 January 1874, p.4; 'Dunstan', 1 April 1874, p.3.

⁸³ 'Resident Magistrate's Court', *Otago Daily Times*, 23 June 1866, p.5: I have not found out anything further about his work in Dunedin outside of his name appearing on subscription lists supporting several of Julius Vogel's election campaigns. In Auckland his names appears on the Pakuranga Road Board 1890-1915 ('Advertisements', *New Zealand Herald*, 10 May 1890, p.8), but nothing else is known.

⁸⁴ 'Editorial', *Otago Daily Times*, 20 July 1870, p.2.

⁸⁵ 'Bendigo Gully', *Dunstan Times*, 11 March 1870, p.3.

⁸⁶ 'The Bendigo Reefs', *Cromwell Argus*, 20 April 1870, p.3.

This confidence had its reward as two shareholders sold their shares for £500 each, pocketing a £225 profit for their four month dalliance with quartz claim ownership.⁸⁷

Dray road finished, they completed the trial crushing which ‘came up to expectations’, advertised for tenders to erect their battery, raised another 100 tons of stone and secured Robert Reid, the engineer responsible for erecting the Cromwell and Aurora machines, to build theirs.⁸⁸

By December the Alta machinery was on site, but getting it there was not straight forward: ‘there was some difficulty in getting teams to cart the heavy pieces of machinery up the hill and then, when on top, it had to be sent down a dangerous siding, for a distance of 370 feet, by means of a windlass, buggy-truck, and turnpole’.⁸⁹

Construction of the Alta water race site took several months, and part-way into the project news broke that two of the contractors, Douglas and Inkster, had found a reef and had covered it up, concealing it from their mates. They filed a claim and commissioned an assay of a few pounds of stone at the Alta which revealed ‘rather rough gold’.⁹⁰ *The Dunstan Times* was strident, however George Douglas, incensed by the insinuation of dishonesty, challenged his former mates to try the issue in the courts.⁹¹ Nothing further was mentioned, so this was probably one of the many tantalisingly rich, shallow ‘shoots’ of auriferous quartz found throughout the valley.

⁸⁷ ‘Notices’, *Otago Daily Times*, 28 April 1870, p.3.

⁸⁸ ‘The Bendigo Reefs’, *Cromwell Argus*, 13 July 1870, p.3; ‘Bendigo Gully’, *Dunstan Times*, 22 July 1870, p.2; ‘The Bendigo Reefs’, *Cromwell Argus*, 26 October 1870, p.4.

⁸⁹ ‘Inquest’, *Cromwell Argus*, 7 December 1870, p.2.

⁹⁰ ‘Bendigo Gully’, *Dunstan Times*, 27 January 1871, p.2.

⁹¹ ‘Geo. B. Douglas, An Explanation’, *Dunstan Times*, 10 February 1871, p.2.

Shareholders had spent over £3000 on their survey and lease, the road to Logantown, two water races, a tramway, the wages of three shifts of miners⁹⁶ and a massive battery, and at a meeting held in met in early 1871, they decided to limit their spending. They reduced miners' wages from £4 to £3 10s per week, a policy quickly adopted by every other company at Bendigo. There was 'quite a furore created among the men employed in the various claims [and] great dissatisfaction expressed and strike threatened; but, when it was seen that the companies were firm, the men (with but few exceptions) accepted the reduced rate.'⁹⁷

Notwithstanding the reduction in spending, hopes for the Alta were undiminished and the company revealed that their first crushing of 100 tons yielded a 'highly satisfactory' 91 ounces of gold in a fortnight.⁹⁸ In April 150 tons of quartz produced 113 ounces of gold which was not as rich as Cromwell stone, but was still a highly remunerative fifteen pennyweights to the ton. The Alta mine was reportedly 'working in a most systematic and economical manner ... [and] a very low average yield can be made to pay a dividend the stone they are at present crushing looks better than any yet bought to light, and has every appearance of going to an ounce and a half.'⁹⁹ Their expenses were less than a third of the gold yield from the mine, making it one of the most profitable at Bendigo.¹⁰⁰ The by-water of their race was also valuable because it was rented for re-use by the Koh-i-noor syndicate, who built an intake just below the outfall of the Alta mill and erected fluming across the gully to a new water race which took the water to their claim on the low-lying spurs between Shepherds Creek and Bendigo.¹⁰¹

When snow froze their water race in June 1871, the Alta Company workforce was paid off and the directors waited three months for water to flow again.¹⁰² But all was not well; visitors in mid-August noticed that despite 'a fulsome supply of water' and 'several hundred tons of promising-looking stone scattered across the claim' the battery stayed silent.¹⁰³ In early September they recommenced operations, but the directors were aghast to find that the next week's crushing of 200 tons yielded just 30 ounces of gold. They precipitately

⁹⁶ 'Advertisements', *Otago Daily Times*, 22 February 1871, p.1; 'Alta Quartz Mining Company', *Otago Witness*, 28 October 1897, p.30; 'Bendigo – Alta Reef', *Cromwell Argus*, 7 December 1870, p.3.

⁹⁷ 'The Dunstan', *Otago Daily Times*, 6 April 1871, p.3.

⁹⁸ 'Cromwell', *Dunstan Times*, 31 March 1871, p.2.

⁹⁹ 'Bendigo', *Dunstan Times*, 14 April 1871, p.2; 'Mining', *Otago Daily Times*, 13 May 1871, p.7.

¹⁰⁰ 'Bendigo Mining News', *Cromwell Argus*, 13 June 1871, p.2.

¹⁰¹ 'Bendigo', *Cromwell Argus*, 23 May 1871, p.3.

¹⁰² 'Bendigo', *Dunstan Times*, 18 August 1871., p.2.

¹⁰³ 'Bendigo', *Cromwell Argus*, 22 August 1871, p.2.

discharged all employees except for a skeleton crew to run the battery on all the stone at grass, but this was no better than the previous yield and the mine was closed.¹⁰⁴

In March, 1872 a notice in the *Otago Daily Times* appealed to ‘Owners of Quartz Reefs, Speculators and Others’ advising that tenders were sought for ‘the purchase of the whole of the crushing plant of the Alta Quartz Mining Company.’ Listed in the tender were ‘a turbine wheel, battery, copper plate and ripple [sic] tables, amalgamating barrel and shaking table, ripple boxes and tools, a wood and iron blacksmith’s shop ... and a ten-by-thirteen foot weather-board house which included an iron safe [which was] the most perfect plant possible for working a mine’.¹⁰⁵ The *Argus*, possibly because one of the newest of the Alta shareholders was George Fache, editor of their bitter rival the *Dunstan Times*, began what would be years of anti-Alta invective, derisively talking of ‘mere surface workings’ and challenging them to give the ‘proven reefs ... of payable stone’ another trial.¹⁰⁶ Unmoved, the shareholders appointed a liquidator in early 1873 and re-advertised the plant for sale. A sign of how parlous the finances had become came in a notice advising creditors to register with the receivers to attempt recovery.¹⁰⁷

Hints that Alta Company shareholders would finally see their plant sold emerged in 1875, with news that the race, tramway and battery were being overhauled to facilitate a trial crushing by the nearby ‘Coromandel Syndicate’ under H.C. Daniels, who was determined to open a reef found in 1873.¹⁰⁸ Three months after Daniels had proved that his claim contained nothing but his shattered hopes and finances, the owners of the Eureka Syndicate purchased the entire plant.¹⁰⁹

The Eureka

The Eureka Syndicate appeared in late 1874 when a group of Cromwell, Dunedin and Bendigo investors headed by Cromwell hotelier John Marsh¹¹⁰ formed a company to work a newly found reef on the line of the reef found by the Rise and Shine sluicers in 1872.¹¹¹ The Eureka was another well-financed syndicate¹¹² and they spent in a way that indicated that the

¹⁰⁴ ‘Bendigo’, *Dunstan Times*, 20 September 1871, p.2; ‘Bendigo’, *Cromwell Argus*, 24 October 1871, p.2; ‘Bendigo Notes’, 7 November 1871, p.3.

¹⁰⁵ ‘To Owners of Quartz Reefs, Speculators, and Others’, *Otago Daily Times*, 1 March 1872, p.3.

¹⁰⁶ ‘Bendigo Redivivus’, *Cromwell Argus*, 11 June 1872, p.2.

¹⁰⁷ ‘Advertisements - Sale By Public Auction’, *Dunstan Times*, 11 April 1873, p.1.

¹⁰⁸ ‘The Miner – Bendigo’, *Cromwell Argus*, 28 July 1875, p.3.

¹⁰⁹ ‘Bendigo’, *Cromwell Argus*, 13 October 1875, p.2.

¹¹⁰ ‘Eureka Gold Mining Company, Bendigo’, *Cromwell Argus*, 9 April 1875, p.2.

¹¹¹ ‘Bendigo Redivivus’, *Cromwell Argus*, 11 June 1872, p.2.

¹¹² ‘Bendigo Quartz Reefs’, *Otago Witness*, 26 December 1874, p.7.

lessons at the Alta were not heeded.

They secured a lease,¹¹³ took out an option on the Alta plant and began construction of a mile-long tramway from their claim to the battery, rented the tail water of the Rise and Shine sluicers, reconditioned the old Alta race and began driving an adit. After six months of development and exploratory work they found that ‘first-rate gold is visible along the whole length so far, improving as they near the hill It is the greatest body of stone in the district, being eight to ten feet in width, with gold throughout.’¹¹⁴ Mine manager George Douglas oversaw the construction of the tramway to the old Alta machine, finding another reef (‘specimens liberally studded with gold’) on the lease boundary. They developed it as an opencast operation, reporting ‘magnificent prospects washed from the rubble and [that] gold is plentiful in the solid stone.’¹¹⁵

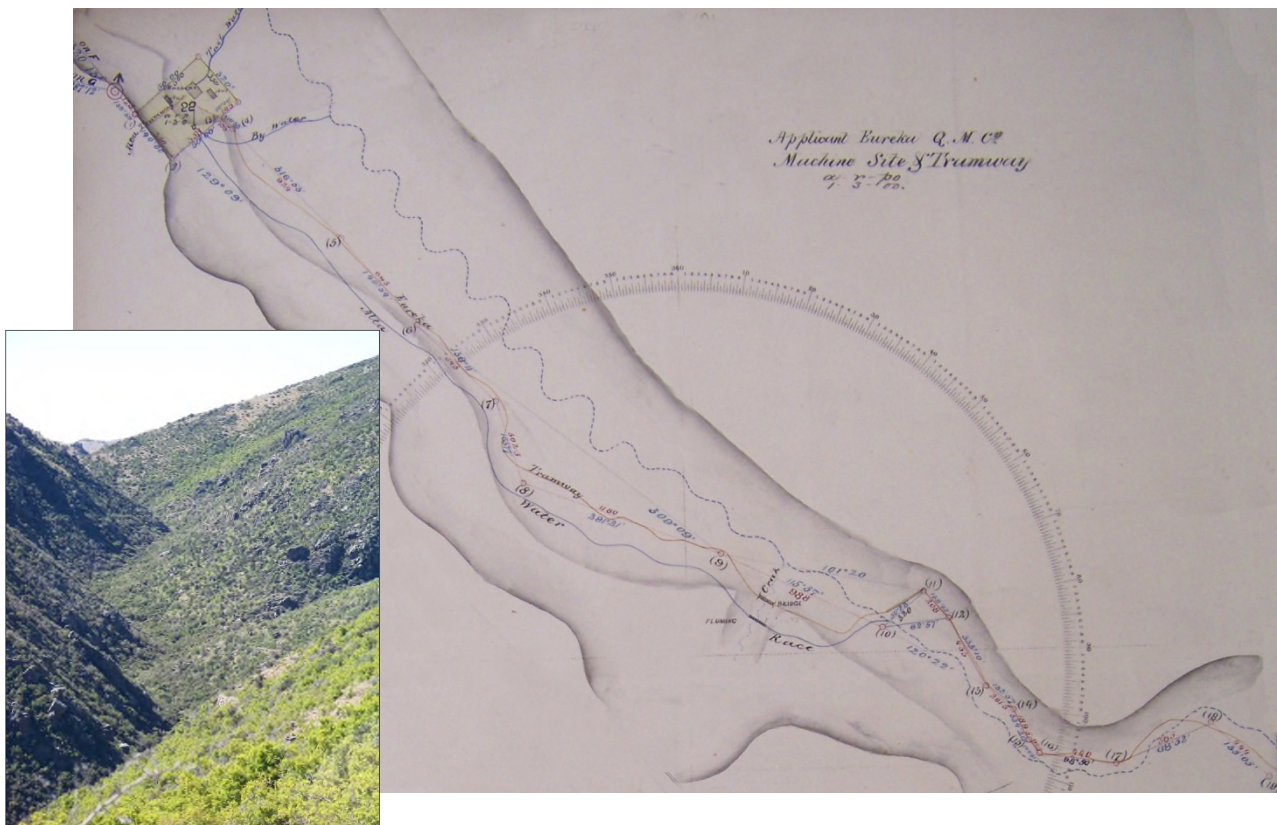


FIGURE 5.16 District Surveyor A.R. Mackay's Eureka Quartz Mining Company Survey, February 1876 showing the new tramway parallel to the old Alta water race. Survey Mining 8652 courtesy of Land Information New Zealand Dunedin Office. INSET: the terrain of the Alta water race and Eureka tramway (these were both cut into the slope at the right of this photograph), Location: at the Alta battery site, opposite the Come in Time mine and battery.

In September 1876 they celebrated when the tramway was completed and the first

¹¹³ 'Bendigo', *Cromwell Argus*, 26 December 1874, p.3.

¹¹⁴ 'Bendigo Items', *Cromwell Argus*, 12 May 1875, p.2.

¹¹⁵ 'Bendigo', *Cromwell Argus*, 28 July 1875, p.3; 'Bendigo', 28 July 1875, p.3; 'The Miner', *Dunstan Times*, 23 April 1875, p.2; 'Notes by 'Viator'', *Cromwell Argus*, 13 October 1875, p.2.

crushing yielded 45 ounces from 80 tons of stone, reporting that ‘the lode shows a thickness of at least three feet, with gold freely distributed throughout’¹¹⁶ and were cheered by a steady flow of Eureka stone trucked to the battery.¹¹⁷ The scale of the construction projects this company embarked upon may be gauged by the long tramway they constructed into the steep slopes of the valley to the east of their claim (see FIGURE 5.16, including the terrain, illustrated in the inset image). They deepened their shaft and set up a whim to lift the stone, but just as things looked promising a flood defeated them.¹¹⁸ The Eureka abruptly disappeared from the local papers, except for a reference in October 1876 when the *Argus* said ‘the Eureka stands unworked’.¹¹⁹ An 1897 article disclosed that gold in Eureka stone could not be freed from the pyrites with it so flooding may not have been the only problem.¹²⁰

The Come in Time

The failure of the Eureka slowed quartz prospecting in the Rise and Shine Valley for four years. There were limits to the capacity for investors to absorb a new ‘greatest quartz find’ and its attendant costs and risks. This changed in mid-1880 when Bendigo resident and coal carter John Kane found auriferous stone on the ridge between Shepherd and Rise and Shine Creeks. The *Argus* enthused, calling it ‘a promising quartz discovery’ which had a ‘very promising appearance on the surface. The lode ranges from two to eight feet in width, and shows gold very freely.’¹²¹ Kane carted five tons to the Cromwell Company’s Matilda battery at Bendigo for nearly 7 ounces of gold.¹²²

Assured their initial enthusiasm for the new venture was merited, the *Cromwell Argus* re-found their stock of hopeful mining phrases:

the 'Come in-Time' ... is looking remarkably well, and promises to be a sure fortune to the lucky discoverers. It certainly is the most remarkable quartz discovery made in Otago as yet, and in a career of 16 years' quartz-mining I have seen nothing like it. I hardly know how to describe it. It is undoubtedly a true lode, but it's immense size when compared with anything previously found in

¹¹⁶ ‘Bendigo Quartz’, *Cromwell Argus*, 6 June 1876, p.2.

¹¹⁷ ‘Bendigo’, *Cromwell Argus*, 2 May 1876, p.3.

¹¹⁸ Ordinary Prospecting Licence 308/32 - 20 acres Rise and Shine Gully Wakefield Survey District - F.S. Austen - Bendigo - 03 April 1933 - 08 May 1953 G.W. Lowe to Mr J. Jessep, Deputy Chairman, Unemployment Board, Wellington 30 March, 1933, ANZ-W, R17868580 ADOL 19382 MD1 1294/ 10/13/604 1.

¹¹⁹ ‘Bendigo’, *Cromwell Argus*, Bendigo, 10 October 1876, p.2.

¹²⁰ ‘Alta Quartz Mining Company’, *Otago Witness*, 28 October 1897, p.30

¹²¹ ‘Bendigo’, *Cromwell Argus*, Bendigo, 26 June 1880, p.3.

¹²² ‘Mining Intelligence’, *Cromwell Argus*, , 6 July 1880, p.3.

Otago throws me or anyone else that has seen it completely astray The gold from prospects I have seen washed from the bottom of the cut is fully worth an ounce to the ton. They have traced the lode for a distance of over 300 feet on the surface, and there are some thousands of tons in sight already.¹²³

Again tail-water of the Rise and Shine's race offered the means to power a water wheel and battery, albeit after it was re-routed from the Alta/Eureka race to a new one they cut into the steep face on the northern side of the valley. They cut a small race from Shepherd's Creek provided clean water to run their tables. In August 1880 Kane and company formed a joint stock company and purchased the old Eureka (formerly Alta) battery, which they relocated to their ground on the opposite side of the valley. Thomas Rooney, late manager of the Cromwell Company and pioneer of the Hit and Miss Quartz Company at Bendigo joined the enterprise, paying £100 for a one sixth share, and he and his fellow-shareholders paid an additional £100 each into the company coffers to meet expenses.¹²⁴

The relocated battery was overhauled and erected 150 yards below the workings, and the company installed a double tram from the mine to the battery, which allowed full trucks to pull back empties.¹²⁵ The men cutting the new tramway reported that the whole spur was a network of quartz and conglomerate, carrying an average 'half an ounce per ton'.¹²⁶ Like Williams at the Alta, John Kane was offered so much money that he sold his share to Bendigo miner William Cameron, buying land at Grandview where his descendants still farm.¹²⁷ Cromwell storekeeper David Jolly also bought a share.¹²⁸ In just eight weeks the Come in Time battery began reducing stone and at the end of December, the company announced that 350 tons of stone had yielded 110 ounces of gold, which after costs, returned the shareholders £10 each.¹²⁹

But then just as it did for the Eureka Company, the newspapers suddenly forgot the Come in Time Quartz Mining Company. In his memoirs published 25 years later, even David Jolly offered no reason for the company's failure. Despite low operating costs, solid capitalisation, experienced 'practical miner' shareholders and consistent returns, they ceased operations in 1881.

In early 1882 their battery was sold to the Last Shot Quartz Mining Company, who

¹²³ 'Bendigo', *Cromwell Argus*, Bendigo, 13 July 1880, p.3.

¹²⁴ 'Bendigo', *Cromwell Argus*, 31 August 1880, p.3; 'Bendigo', 10 August 1880, p.3.

¹²⁵ 'Editorial', *Cromwell Argus*, 5 October 1880, p.3.

¹²⁶ 'Bendigo', *Cromwell Argus*, 2 November 1880, p.2.

¹²⁷ 'Mining Intelligence', *Cromwell Argus*, 30 December 1880, p.3.

¹²⁸ 'Early Goldfields' by 'A Pioneer', *Cromwell Argus*, 20 July 1908, , p.5.

¹²⁹ 'Cromwell Quartz Mining', *Otago Daily Times*, 15 January 1880, p.9.

dismantled and re-erected it on their claim near the old Elizabeth ground at the Carrick Range.¹³⁰ But the Last Shot failed and the Come in Time Company was forced to sue for payment.¹³¹

The Eureka is Reborn: The Jubilee Company

The Eureka claim was not the last on that site in the Rise and Shine Basin. At the northern end of the Eureka ground there are extensive mullock mounds and the unmistakable foundations of a quartz battery (see FIGURE 5.17).



FIGURE 5.17 The Jubilee Quartz Mining Company battery site, Rise and Shine Valley. Photograph: L. Carpenter, 2011.

In June 1888 William Lidston, who worked as pitman for the Cromwell Company, took advantage of the short hours created by a lack of water to go prospecting. He found a reef in the old Eureka ground, which he traced and investigated with a 7ft prospecting shaft. He announced that it showed ‘splendid prospects, as much as 6gr of gold to the dish from the casing of the reef ... and [that] the stone, a dark-yellow colour, shows gold freely.’¹³² Lidston

¹³⁰ ‘Cromwell’, *Otago Witness*, 4 November 1882, p.21.

¹³¹ ‘Magistrate’s Court’, *Cromwell Argus*, 30 January 1883, p.4.

¹³² ‘Mining’, *Otago Daily Times*, 8 June, 1888, p.2.

sold a quarter share each to Bendigo Gully storekeeper Charles O'Donnell, Carrick storekeeper (and former shareholder of the Come in Time Company) William Bennett and Rise and Shine Sluicing Syndicate member W. Gilbert Mouat. The new company bought a two-head quartz battery which they planned to run on the remnant flow of the Rise and Shine water race which Lidston had pre-emptively secured before the sluicers sold it to Ewing in 1888.¹³³

Lidston and company's 'Jubilee Gold-mining Party' had the (by now) familiar *Otago Witness* correspondent's appraisal that 'the new quartz reef ... is likely to be much richer than was at first anticipated [it] is well defined, and is about 18in thick. Gold can be seen plainly on the surface of the stone.'¹³⁴ The *Cromwell Argus*, which had toned down its reporting, noted that they had found 'some splendid prospects ... two ounces to the ton stuff.'¹³⁵ The shareholders ordered timber for a waterwheel,¹³⁶ but unlike the previous companies the Jubilee Syndicate proceeded cautiously. The *Witness* approved, noting that 'the Rise and Shine ... has been for many years looked to as being a good reef-bearing country, several rich leaders having been long ago discovered, though not large enough to pay.'¹³⁷

In early November 1888 the Jubilee Company celebrated starting battery operations, sending invitations 'to everyone in the district within a radius of fourteen miles'¹³⁸ to hear Lidston give a speech and to see the battery christened with a bottle of champagne. After three months the Jubilee began building up a 'quarry of payable stone' and expressed their frustration with a two-head battery.¹³⁹ With their shaft down to 40 feet they ran their mill 24 hours a day and dug along the reef, in addition to their quarrying work.¹⁴⁰ In January 1889 a 34 ounce cake showed that they were on the right track, despite water shortages blighting their summer.¹⁴¹

In May when yields fell to 9dwt per ton,¹⁴² they suspended operations and went prospecting, finding good stone high above Thomson's Saddle on a spur of Mount Moka. They picked the best of this, packing eight tons by horseback to their battery, but after this

¹³³ 'Warden's Court – Applications', *Cromwell Argus*, 13 August 1889, p.5.

¹³⁴ 'Mining', *Otago Witness*, 31 August 1888, p.12

¹³⁵ 'Bendigo Mining Notes', *Cromwell Argus*, 25 August 1888, p.4.

¹³⁶ Broad, M., (Ed.) William Gilbert Mouat 1863 – 1956, Journal. <http://www.rgreen.org.uk/WGM.html>

¹³⁷ 'Bendigo Mining Notes', *Cromwell Argus*, 25 August 1888, p.5.

¹³⁸ 'Mining in the Cromwell District', *Otago Witness*, 23 November 1888, p.12.

¹³⁹ 'Bendigo Mining', *Otago Witness*, 14 February 1889, p.13.

¹⁴⁰ 'Mining', *Otago Witness*, 11 April 1889, p.12.

¹⁴¹ 'Mining', *Cromwell Argus*, 1 January 1889, p.3; 'Mining Intelligence', 5 February 1889, p.3.

¹⁴² 'Mining – Cromwell', *Otago Witness*, 30 May 1889, p.12; 'Miscellaneous', 8 August 1889, p.12

proved barely payable, abandoned it to focus anew on their own area. The remains of these high altitude workings are near the old Alta roadway of 1871, high above the valley floor. They are a parallel series of long shallow open cuts across the westward spur from the peak. Near the largest pits are a ruined stone hut and a scattering of miner's tools, including buckets, a pick, frying pan and old bottles. The effort required to get to them now is considerable; the work of packing ore by horseback to the valley floor defies imagination.



FIGURE 5.18 One of the eight long shallow trench sites high on Mt Moka where Lidston, Mouat and Company picked stone for transporation down to their Jubilee battery on the Rise and Shine Valley floor. Photograph L. Carpenter 2012.

Back at their original claim area, they issued reports that ‘the tables look well’¹⁴³ and the inconsistent results were forgotten with the announcement that they would erect a five-head battery. They shifted and renovated the battery from the Young Elephant claim in Thomson’s Gorge which had been abandoned since 1877.¹⁴⁴ The Jubilee’s last report was in a newspaper article from June 1890, which said that the company were ‘getting out quartz and stacking it

¹⁴³ ‘Bendigo Mining News’, *Otago Witness*, 3 October 1889, p.12; Broad, Mouat Journal.

¹⁴⁴ ‘Cancellation of Gold-Mining Lease’, *Otago Witness*, 7 July 1877, p.12

until the winter is over. They have a quarry that will take some time to work out, and every piece of stone contains gold.’¹⁴⁵

According to the journal of William Gilbert Mouat, when the quarried stone was processed the mine was abandoned, not because it stopped paying, but because Lidston’s wife could not abide living in the cold, remote Rise and Shine basin and insisted on moving.¹⁴⁶ Given that Tarras historian Geoffrey Duff reports Bendigo Rocky Point ferry Hotel proprietor John McLaughlin working there after the Jubilee ceased, it is likely that he bought it from the shareholders.¹⁴⁷ Certainly someone was still mining quartz in 1891, because the *Otago Witness* reported that ‘five heads of stampers are kept going, [on] a long shift every day,’¹⁴⁸ but this must have petered out because nothing more is mentioned in newspapers or archives.

The Alta is Reborn

August Sorenson, a Norwegian-born quartz miner with experience at the Longwood reef in Bendigo, Victoria and the Cromwell reef in Bendigo, Otago, was working as part of William Pengelly’s tribute at the Cromwell mine in the 1890s. He took out a lease on the Alta ground in 1897. He found stone which, after a trial crushing promised to ‘return 4 oz to the ton.’¹⁴⁹ Observers were confident Sorenson had found ‘a good solid reef, 3ft wide, carrying payable gold’¹⁵⁰ and even the cautious *New Zealand Mines Record* talked up the prospects, with estimates from stone hand-crushed in Cromwell running to 30oz per ton for one sample and 10oz per ton for the second.¹⁵¹ In mid-1898 Sorenson decided to get twenty tons crushed as a trial, carting stone to the Cromwell Company’s Matilda battery.¹⁵² His syndicate declared their intention to float a public company, but nothing came of this. Gold was found, with some ‘good patches’ of stone, but not in quantities that paid the cost of raising and crushing it, so Sorenson abandoned the Alta at the end of 1898.¹⁵³

Undaunted by Sorenson’s setback Lidston returned to the Rise and Shine, organising another Alta syndicate in 1899 and crushing an eight ton parcel of rock at the Cromwell

¹⁴⁵ ‘Mining Intelligence’, *Otago Witness*, 19 June 1890, p.14.

¹⁴⁶ Broad, Mouat Journal.

¹⁴⁷ Duff, G., *Sheep May Safely Graze*, p.82.

¹⁴⁸ ‘Notes from Central Otago’, *Otago Witness*, 8 October 1891, p.15.

¹⁴⁹ ‘The Week’s Mining News’, *Otago Witness*, 19 August 1897, p.20.

¹⁵⁰ ‘Mining’, *Otago Daily Times*, 10 February 1898, p.3.

¹⁵¹ *NZ Mines Record*, 1897-8, 1, p.204.

¹⁵² ‘The Week’s Mining News’, *Otago Witness*, 21 April 1898, p.20.

¹⁵³ ‘Alta Mine’, *Otago Witness*, 6 May 1903, p.23.

company battery for nearly 13oz, or ‘well above wages’.¹⁵⁴ Lidston’s miners were all tributors working the old Cromwell Company mine and when a patch of better stone at that mine was found, they abandoned the Alta.¹⁵⁵

After a year of inactivity at the Alta, in 1903 a ‘Mr Holmes and five other working miners’ drove a cross-cut in the sixty foot shaft sunk by Sorenson, and in a repeat of the previous history at the Alta, they found gold.¹⁵⁶ But in a break from the past, Holmes found consistent stone and purchased the old 5-head Jubilee battery.¹⁵⁷ Using the Eureka tramway, they moved the old mill to their ground at the western end of the Alta open-cut. In a first for the Bendigo area, their battery was driven by a 7-hp diesel engine. This was a small-scale operation, running a hand-fed battery part-time. Their stone came from the old Alta mine, from an adit driven into the side of the hill opposite the main area and from a spur to the south, where they found a new reef.¹⁵⁸ Holmes and Company had the greatest persistence of all the Alta incarnations,¹⁵⁹ although the *Mines Reports* said that while the scattered patches of payable stone yielded poor returns, a rich lode of scheelite had been found.¹⁶⁰ Despite their diligence, by mid-1905 the last miner was gone and the Alta mine closed.¹⁶¹

The battery was left engineless, thanks to the liquidation of the company assets entailing the sale of the engine to Morven Hills Station for electricity.¹⁶² Its ruin, plus a stone hopper which may have been the site for the battery itself, sit near the old Alta tramway over a spur from the Come in Time Area, Rise and Shine Valley (see FIGURE 5.19)

¹⁵⁴ ‘Mining’, *Otago Daily Times*, 14 September 1899, p.6.

¹⁵⁵ ‘Upper Molyneux Mining’, *Otago Witness*, 21 September 1899, p.34.

¹⁵⁶ ‘Mining – Notes from Cromwell’, *Otago Witness*, 13 August 1902, p.21.

¹⁵⁷ The Goldfields of New Zealand: Report on Roads, Water-races, Mining Machinery, and other Works in Connection with Mining, *Appendices to the Journals of the House of Representatives (AJHR)* 1903 Session I, C-03, p.131.

¹⁵⁸ ‘The Alta Mine’, *Otago Witness*, 6 May 1903, p.25.

¹⁵⁹ ‘Notes from Cromwell’, *Otago Witness*, 18 May 1904, p.24.

¹⁶⁰ *AJHR*, 1904, C-3, p.67.

¹⁶¹ *AJHR*, 1905, C-3, p.68.

¹⁶² *AJHR*, 1906, C-3, p.61.



FIGURE 5.19 The Alta battery site, 1903-1905, Rise and Shine Valley. The Alta tramway of 1870 is visible in the lower centre of the image. Photograph L. Carpenter, 2012

The Cameron brothers (sons of Come in Time shareholder William Cameron) acquired the lease in early 1908, although it appears from one report that they were in the area as early as 1906.¹⁶³ John Cameron applied for a quartz mining lease on fifteen acres at the Alta, yet did not specify that it was only gold he sought.¹⁶⁴ He and his brother ignored the Alta's lauded-but-failed gold prospects to develop the scheelite reserves. In this pursuit they found auriferous quartz in a seam which was – following well-established pattern for the Alta cant – declared to have ‘every prospect of ... turning out a great success.’¹⁶⁵ There are no records of how much gold the Camerons got at the Alta, but they mined scheelite successfully, clearing £100 in one notable week in 1908.¹⁶⁶ In 1909 a group of Cromwell investors announced the formation of a small company, predicting that ‘there is every

¹⁶³ The Goldfields of New Zealand: Report on Roads, Water Races, Mining Machinery, and Other Works in Connection with Mining, *AJHR*, 1906 Session II, C-03, p.65.

¹⁶⁴ ‘Application for License for a Claim’, *Cromwell Argus*, 7 September 1908, p.5.

¹⁶⁵ ‘Dredging and Mining’, *Cromwell Argus*, 12 October 1908, p.6.

¹⁶⁶ ‘Cromwell’, *Otago Witness*, 2 December 1908, p.39; The Goldfields of New Zealand (Report on) , *AJHR*, 1909 Session II, C-03, p.76; Mines Statement, by the Hon. W. Fraser, Minister of Mines, *AJHR*, 1914 Session I, C-02, p.49.

prospect of a mining revival at Bendigo' and that 'work will be started shortly'.¹⁶⁷ This came to nothing. Again.

The Come in Time is Reborn.

Mechesidec Bospednic (Dick) Edwards was a skilled quartz miner who worked for the Cromwell Company for many years. He and fellow Cornishman William Pengelly was employed as prospectors for the Cromwell Prospecting Association in 1885–87¹⁶⁸ and both worked in a tribute team in the mine at Bendigo throughout the 1890s.¹⁶⁹ Edwards retired in 1897 to take over the lease of Cromwell's Temperance Hotel¹⁷⁰ before returning to mine in the Nevis in 1898.¹⁷¹ Judging from the frequent mention of him in the *Cromwell Argus* and *Dunstan Times*, Edwards was well-respected locally.

In July, 1908, Edwards announced he would form a new company to reopen the Come in Time Mine. Local investors became interested and David Jolly, who held shares in the first Come in Time, led a group of local businessmen accompanying Edwards to take samples to for assaying at the Karangahake School of Mines. When these averaged 13dwt gold and 8dwt silver per ton the excitement was considerable. A company was formed with a registered capital of £2000, which acquired the now defunct Cromwell Company's machinery and shifted ten heads of the Matilda Battery from Specimen Gully at Bendigo to the Come in Time site.¹⁷²

For all the careful testing by the School of Mines and the calibre of Edwards as a promoter, the new Come in Time venture proved to be a financial disaster that eclipsed all past failures in the area. In June 1910 the *Cromwell Argus* announced that in 1909 a total expenditure of £508 17s 3d had earned just 1oz 19dwt 18 grs. To make matters worse, they admitted that in the most recent six months – after investing £1394 5s 4d more and exceeding the paid-up capital by £500 – the earnings were a tiny 4ozs 13dwt.¹⁷³

Despite this disastrous result, in 1910 J. Dunnery and M. Birley purchased the company. They crushed 350 tons of stone for 50oz in September and in October crushed 77

¹⁶⁷ 'The Week's Mining News', *Otago Witness*, 19 December 1909, p.30.

¹⁶⁸ 'Prospecting Association', *Cromwell Argus*, 25 April 1885, p.5; 'The Mines', *Otago Witness*, 21 May, 1886, p.22.

¹⁶⁹ Parcell, J.C., *Heart*, Illustration facing p. 39.

¹⁷⁰ 'Commercial', *Cromwell Argus*, 13 April 1897, p.5.

¹⁷¹ 'Warden's Court, Cromwell', *Cromwell Argus*, 19 April 1898, p.5.

¹⁷² 'Mining Notes', *Cromwell Argus*, 20 July 1908, p.6.

¹⁷³ 'Mining', *Cromwell Argus*, 6 June 1910, p.6.

tons more for gold worth £54,¹⁷⁴ which led them to conclude that the mine had nothing more to offer and they ceased work.

The Alta is reborn. Again.

In 1913 the shareholders of the latest reincarnation of an Alta Syndicate found a new reef. They constructed an aerial ropeway to convey selected stone to their newly-acquired Come in Time battery on the other side of the valley.¹⁷⁵ Only the upper header unit of this ropeway remains, plus a bucket which would suggest that this was a fairly rudimentary system of continuous buckets fixed to the cable, rather than anything seen in the coal ropeways of the Denniston Plateau in the Buller (see FIGURE 5.20).



FIGURE 5.20 The 1913 Alta company aerial ropeway header unit, Rise and Shine Valley. INSET: a bucket from the aerial ropeway unit, showing cable mounts. Photographs L. Carpenter, 2010.

They re-fitted the mill and crushed some Alta stone from their ropeway, but switched their attention to the much larger outcrop of the Come in Time lode on the Shepherd's Creek

¹⁷⁴ Mining Reports - Returns From Quartz - Mines Otago, Central Otago Area 1904-1939, November 1910, ANZ-D AATJ 9163 D345 box 152/f.

¹⁷⁵ *AJHR*, 1913, C-2, p.34

side of the claim. They mined this as an open cut, crushing 100 tons of ore in 1913 (see FIGURE 5.21), but quickly abandoned the claim.¹⁷⁶



Figure 5.21 The Alta Mining Company's open cut from 1913, across the road from the Come in Time battery Department of Conservation car park. Photograph L. Carpenter, 2010.

The last owner of the Alta mine was David Betts, who in 1933 leased the Come in Time site in response to the excitement generated by the newly-formed Bendigo Rise and Shine Company (see below). When the new company emerged in 1934, Betts offered them the Come in Time battery for £50. The Rise and Shine's Frank Austen wrote dismissively that the machine 'is in a dilapidated [sic] condition, having been robbed of most of its fittings. It is of an old, obsolete type [which would] make the cost of reconditioning higher than the cost of a new battery.'¹⁷⁷ It remained standing in the Otago weather until it was reconditioned by the Otago Goldfields Heritage Trust in 2008.¹⁷⁸

Betts was one of several miners who prospected around the Rise and Shine area in 1932 and 1933, working on an Unemployment Board subsidy whereby miners were paid a weekly wage of 15 shillings (single men) and 30 shillings (married) in return for ten per-cent of any gold found. Only one group of these unemployed miners properly developed a quartz claim in the Rise and Shine Valley in the 1930s.

¹⁷⁶ *AJHR*, 1914, C-2, p.49

¹⁷⁷ Ordinary Prospecting Licence 308/32, Letter from C.A. Aitchison, Bendigo Rise and Shine Gold Mining Company Ltd to Under-Secretary of the Mines Dept, Wellington 10 June 1935 (Document N10/13/604), ANZ-W.

¹⁷⁸ Otago Goldfields heritage Trust website, <http://goldfieldstrust.org.nz/2012/06/28/come-in-time-battery-signage-completed/> accessed October 13, 2012.

The Eureka is Reborn: The Bendigo Rise and Shine Claim 1932 – 42

Frank Saxby Austin, William Cameron and George Logan were unemployed miners in their sixties, working on the Unemployment Board work scheme.¹⁷⁹ All had links with Bendigo: Cameron was born there, had worked the Alta claim in the early 1900s and his family was the last to live at Logantown; Logan was a son of Thomas Logan, the prospector who found the rich Cromwell Company claim on Bendigo, while Austin was the son of a miner who had worked at Cardrona in 1863¹⁸⁰ and Bendigo Gully in 1864. According to the *Otago Daily Times*, Cameron acted on the enthusiasm of his late father who had declared that there was a rich reef in the Rise and Shine area for a prospector to find.¹⁸¹ The group had a hard life: as well as living under canvas in the bleak Rise and Shine Valley, they had to carry their tools eight miles back to Tarras for re-sharpening, fixing and re-pointing,¹⁸² while the nearest functioning battery for test crushing quartz samples was at the Callery brothers' Golden Point mill, 120 miles away at Macraes Flat.¹⁸³

In the old Eureka claim the three men found the shaft that had been sunk to thirty feet in 1872 by the Rise and Shine sluicers and deepened to eighty feet by the Eureka Company in 1875. They cleaned it out and sank a further nine feet, driving a right-angled cross-cut along the face of the lode and exposing twenty feet of the footwall. This revealed hard, close-grained blue quartz indicating good gold.¹⁸⁴ In late 1932 they commissioned an assay, which yielded remarkable results, ranging from 3oz to over 9oz per ton. They were so high that Cromwell mining engineer G.W. Lowe visited the area to verify them, but he was playing catch-up with the canny miners who 'accidentally' let slip the results to the local newspapers. Lowe found more realistic results which were not enough for an Unemployment Board

¹⁷⁹ Ordinary Prospecting Licence 308/32, 1 October 1932 to 22 July 1933 William Cameron (married with family) received assistance of £64 10 1, Memorandum from C.S.D. Aitchison Secretary of the Otago Gold Prospectors Company Ltd to Ferens and Jeavons, Lawyers, Dunedin, 11 January 1934, ANZ-W.

¹⁸⁰ A. Austen, I Austen, J. Stoltz, A. Sutherland, Application for 1 acre claim, Cardrona, Arrowtown Warden's Court Registration Book of Water Rights, Residence Areas and Extended Claims, ANZ-D, AEPG D568 22784 Box 74.

¹⁸¹ *Otago Daily Times* 12 April 1933, quoted in Ordinary Prospecting Licence 308/32, Mines Dept Correspondence, Commissioner of the Mines Department and G.W. Lowe, 27 April 1933, ref. G.B. 11/7/23, ANZ-W.

¹⁸² Mining Reports - Returns From Quartz - Mines Otago, Central Otago Area 1904-1939, ANZ-D, AATJ 9163 D345 box 152/f.

¹⁸³ Ordinary Prospecting Licence 308/32, Memorandum from G.W. Lowe to Mr A.H. Kimbell of the Mines Dept, Wellington, 11 March, 1933, ref N. 9/148, ANZ-W.

¹⁸⁴ 'Bendigo Items', *Cromwell Argus*, 12 May 1875.

subsidy to cart stone to Macraes Flat for testing.¹⁸⁵ In August of 1933 the miners completed the requirements for a prospecting license and mining survey.¹⁸⁶



FIGURE 5.22 The Bendigo Rise and Shine Mine and prospectors after the sale to the Otago Gold Prospecting Company, just before the issue of the company prospectus. Photograph from 'Quartz Mining in Otago – Unemployed Strike it Rich' New Zealand Free Lance, 28 March 1934.

With what seemed a rich mine and no funds to develop it, Austin, Logan and Cameron (it is likely that the three men are in the photograph of FIGURE 5.22) leased their claim for one shilling to the Otago Gold Prospecting Company Limited, who employed them and five more miners.¹⁸⁷ The company agreed to purchase the three men's claim outright for £7500.¹⁸⁸ They commissioned another assay by Dr Andrew of the Otago School of Mines with remarkable results: the sample from the south drive at 62 feet yielding 14oz and another from the opposite end showing a staggering 26oz per ton,¹⁸⁹ or potentially the richest stone found in Otago. The Otago Gold Prospecting Company floated a new £50000 company to buy processing machinery and to 'to expose some 50 to 60 thousand tons of ore.' They confidently declared that 'when this development policy has been carried out the Company

¹⁸⁵ Ordinary Prospecting Licence 308/32, Donovan, Dominion Analyst report to G.W. Lowe, 21 April 1933, ref N.10/13/604; Memo from Lowe to Kimbell, 27 April 1933 ref N.10/13/604, ANZ-W.

¹⁸⁶ Ordinary Prospecting Licence 308/32, Memo from Kimbell to Mining Registrar, Cromwell, 24 August 1933, ANZ-W.

¹⁸⁷ Ordinary Prospecting Licence 308/32, Memo from Aitchison of the Otago Gold Prospectors Co. to Ferens and Jeavons, Dunedin, 11 January 1934, ANZ-W.

¹⁸⁸ Ordinary Prospecting Licence 308/32, memo 11 April, 1934, ANZ-W.

¹⁸⁹ Ordinary Prospecting Licence 308/32, Copy of assay, correspondence between Minister of Mines and Chas. M. Barnett, lawyer for Cameron, Logan and Austin, 21 February 1934, ANZ-W.

will be [proven to be] on extremely valuable assets and, to the investing public, will be more in the nature of an investment than a gamble.’¹⁹⁰

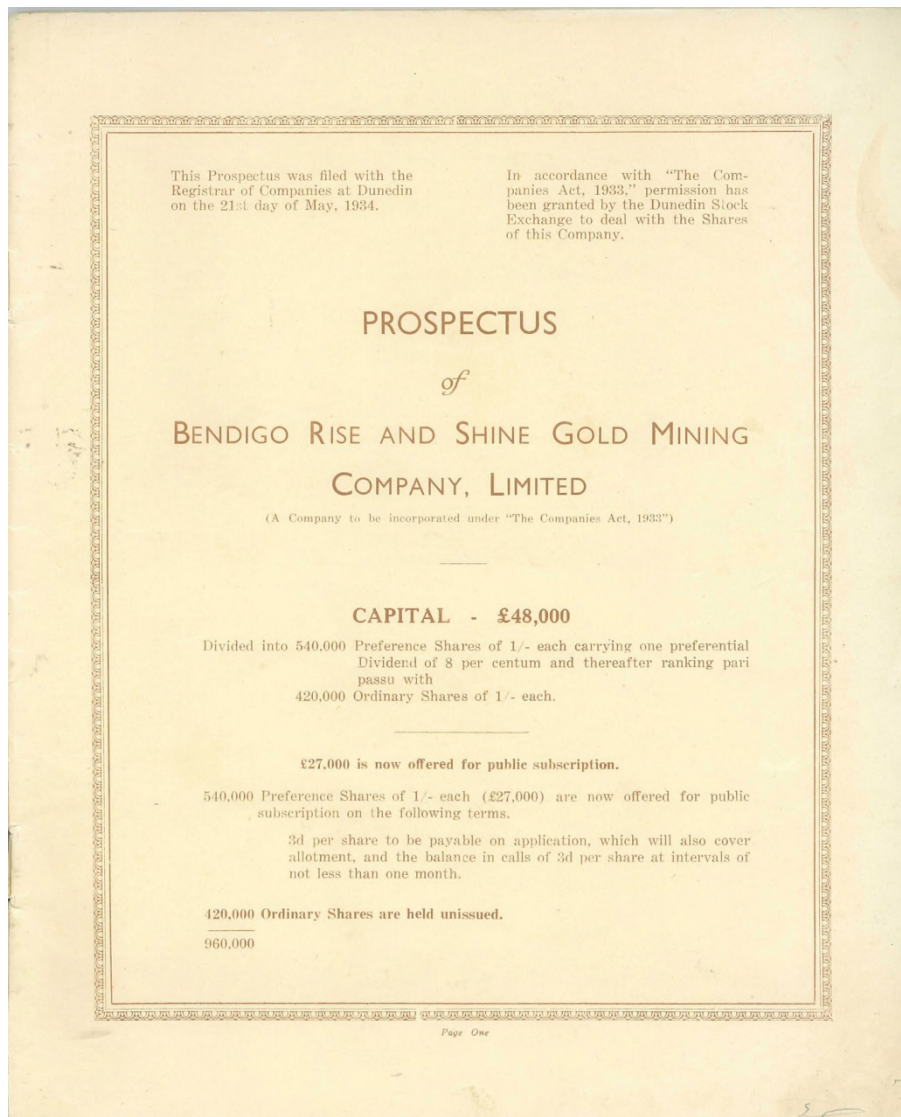


FIGURE 5.23 The Bendigo Rise and Shine Gold Mining Company prospectus, 1934. L. Carpenter Collection

In May, 1934 the prospectus for the Bendigo Rise and Shine Gold Mining Company, Limited was issued (see FIGURE 5.23).¹⁹¹ ‘Bendigo’ was appended to the company name by director J.M. Stewart, who clearly hoped people would think it was associated with the Cromwell Company mine ‘so investors would assume it being a continuation there-of’.¹⁹² This prospectus was sufficiently packed with imprecise hints, misdirection, pseudo-history, quotes from Prime Minister George W. Forbes¹⁹³ and carefully selected assays and excerpts

¹⁹⁰ Ordinary Prospecting Licence 308/32, Memo from Ferrens and Jeavons to Kimbell 15 February 1934, ANZ-W.

¹⁹¹ Mining Licence - Bendigo Rise and Shine Gold Mining Company, ANZ-D R421837 AATJ 9160 D345 140/g 1/85.

¹⁹² Ordinary Prospecting Licence 308/32, Memo to Messrs Aitchison and Stewart, 15 March 1935, ANZ-W.

¹⁹³ Prime Minister GW Forbes 1934-1934; Diary entry, 20 January 1934, ANZ-W, PM 10 2/6 Forbes visited the claim in January 1934.

from Dr Andrew's report to get the directors arrested today.¹⁹⁴ Much was made of the rich Cromwell Company's mine at Bendigo, implying that the Bendigo/Rise and Shine area was contiguous geographically (it is not), similar in geology (they are not) and that the claim would be worked in the same way as the successful Bendigo company had been (they would not be).



FIGURE 5.24 The Bendigo Rise and Shine Quartz Company workers' cottages, manager's house and mine, late 1934. Photograph courtesy R.W. Murray Collection, used with permission.

The company applied to the Unemployment Board for assistance, deepened their drives and built a four room manager's house and huts for the workmen.¹⁹⁵ Unhappy with the earlier blindsiding over assays, Cromwell-based Lowe took a close look at the company and their prospectus. He expressed alarm at the over-stated, misleading and overly-optimistic rhetoric of the prospectus, noting that Andrews, far from hyping their prospects had actually recommended extensive additional prospecting before development, suggesting it might 'prove the mine to be a vastly different proposition from what the promoters claim it is going to be'. In his report, Lowe concluded that 'the locality is well worth trying, but does not yet justify either a plant or a company, on the scale set out in the prospectus', and 'having

¹⁹⁴Ordinary Prospecting Licence 308/32, In a December 4, 1934 memo to Commissioner of Unemployment, A. Tyndall said 'the references to the Unemployment Board and to the Prime Minister were to say the least unfortunate', ANZ-W.

¹⁹⁵ Ordinary Prospecting Licence 308/32, Letter from Aitchison to the Commissioner of Unemployment, 10 September 1934, ANZ-W.

considered the loading of this company, the exaggerated statements regarding values and prospects and the intentions of the directors re the future working and equipment of the mine, I recommend that the Board declines the company's application for assistance.'¹⁹⁶ In December 1934 the Commissioner of Unemployment wrote to the company refusing any assistance.¹⁹⁷

Undaunted, the company announced extravagant plans to 'establish an up-to-date battery and operate on a major scale.'¹⁹⁸ Nevertheless the reality of dwindling funds restricted them to a plant consisting of a crusher, ball mill, Wilfley table, berdan pan and a 10hp motor to drive it. This smaller setup had a capacity of 20 tons per week, much smaller than the ten tons per day originally envisaged.¹⁹⁹ It proved efficient, with a return of almost 15oz for the first week of December 1935, followed by nine tons for nearly 2oz per ton in the following week.²⁰⁰ An additional berdan was installed, improving returns further with a mid-December return of 27oz from 36 tons of ore, or 15dwt per ton.²⁰¹

While the directors pursued a subsidy through the Unemployment Board the company developed the open-cut at the old Eureka lode and installed an inclined tram line with a winder hauling trucks to the ore bin. They had to spall large stone blocks by hand, which prompted them to install the first ore roasting plant at Bendigo.²⁰² A rich pocket of stone was found and in the three months leading up to June 1936 the company made a £100 profit each month, wiping out the accumulated debt and catching up on wage arrears.²⁰³

In June just 33 tons were crushed at the mine due to winter ice blocking the races, but with a yield of 40oz the claim was far from a lost cause.²⁰⁴ They spent the rest of the year expanding the drives, adits and winzes of their mine, which would see the Unemployment Board authorise the Mines Department to pay the subsidy applied for. In November 1936, £800 was agreed to in the form of a debenture secured over the assets of the company²⁰⁵ and the mine began to pay its way with something like the consistency the promoters had hoped

¹⁹⁶ Ordinary Prospecting Licence 308/32, Memo from Lowe to Under-Secretary, Mines Dept, Wellington, 26 November 1934, ANZ-W.

¹⁹⁷ Ordinary Prospecting Licence 308/32, Memo U.B.11/9/78 to Bendigo Rise and Shine Gold Mining Company from Commissioner of Unemployment, 11 December 1934, ANZ-W.

¹⁹⁸ *The Evening Post*, Mining News, 17 January 1935, p.14.

¹⁹⁹ Ordinary Prospecting Licence 308/32, Letter from T.W. Dobbie to Under Secretary for Mines, 4 October 1935, ANZ-W.

²⁰⁰ 'Mining Returns', *The Press*, 11 December 1935

²⁰¹ 'Mining Returns', *The Press*, 18 December 1935

²⁰² Ordinary Prospecting Licence 308/32, Memo to Mines Under-Secretary, 1 May 1936, ANZ-W.

²⁰³ 'Mining', *Otago Daily Times*, 8 June 1936.

²⁰⁴ 'Mining Returns', *The Press*, 30 June 1936

²⁰⁵ Ordinary Prospecting Licence 308/32, Letter from A. Tyndall, Under-Secretary of Mines to secretary, Bendigo Rise and Shine Gold Mining Company 25 November 1936, ANZ-W.

for when it was first floated. In January 1937 they gained 124oz from 128 tons of ore, but this obscured what was going on in the Rise and Shine. The ore crushed represented nearly all the auriferous stone available in the mine, so in February no stone was crushed and in March the battery ran intermittently, and 31 tons yielded 19oz.²⁰⁶

With a balance sheet suddenly clear of debt, the directors decided that the lode they sought – the same lode which had eluded both the Eureka and Jubilee – remained lost and concluded that more money was needed to fund ‘a policy of immediate mine development if the operations are to be continued for any length of time.’ The directors bowed to the inevitable, passing the resolution ‘that accordingly the company be wound up voluntarily.’²⁰⁷

From November 1935 to April 1937 an average of 24.2 tons of ore per month was processed. Overall 436 tons yielded 359oz of gold, or 16dwt per ton, so the mine was provably payable and the liquidator offered the mine as a going concern.²⁰⁸ In November 1937 Southland investors formed the Shine Again Gold Mining Company to work the Rise and Shine/Eureka/Jubilee ground.²⁰⁹ Their prospectus stated their intention to ‘crosscut the North-South lode at the 63-foot level and crush the ore in this lode available on the surface estimated at 3,000 tons, and after that to carry out further prospecting on the East-West lode with the intention of definitely proving the value of this area and opening up a mine capable of proper development on a large scale.’²¹⁰

In January 1938 their first crushing of four tons yielded 2oz, but 16 tons more produced a more encouraging 10oz. In April of 1938 they obtained a five head quartz battery from Stone Burn and shifted it to a lower site in the valley, enclosed it in a ‘wooden framed galvanised iron building’ and laid a tramway to the mine. The shaft was dewatered and a Lister engine procured to drive the mill and a Fordson tractor drove the air compressor for rock drills.²¹¹ The first few crushings were hardly economic, ranging from 2oz from 22 tons for the first week and 4oz from 42 tons in the next, up to a ‘high’ of 3oz from 20 tons a week later. They re-commissioned the ore roaster to pre-treat their stone, installed a ball mill and renovated their Wilfley table. In October they crushed 60 tons per week, for a consistent 7 to

²⁰⁶ Mining Reports - Returns From Quartz - Mines Otago, Central Otago Area 1904-1939, March 1937, ANZ-D AATJ 9163 D345 box 152/f.

²⁰⁷ Minutes and Lowe’s report quoted in Jeffery, A., Ministry of Economic Development Crown Minerals Mineral Report Series MR4062 *The History of Quartz Mining at the Bendigo and Carrick Range Goldfields, Central Otago, New Zealand*, 1986, p.30.

²⁰⁸ Summary from Mines Division File no. 1/65, Dunedin quoted in Aldridge, C., Ministry of Economic Development Crown Minerals Mineral Report Series MR1951 *Examination of Rise and Shine Mine area PL 31576, Otago* for Bronze Boulder Mining & Development Co Ltd, 1983, p.3.

²⁰⁹ Mining Reports - Returns From Quartz - Mines Otago, Central Otago Area 1904-1939, ANZ-D.

²¹⁰ Quoted in Jeffery, p.30.

²¹¹ ‘Mining Reports’, *Otago Daily Times*, April 18, 1938.

8oz each week, or 2dwt per ton.²¹² Their claim area had very low-grade stone and for the period October 1938 to February 1939, won little more than 3dwt per ton or half of what the company expected.²¹³ They spent the winter of 1942 crushing scrappy stone from various open cut workings across their claim area, finally closing when the government declined an application for a subsidy to extend the eastward area of the original drive. With the August closure of the Shine Again mine, the last quartz mining venture at Bendigo ended.

The Heritage of 90 Years of Mining at the Rise and Shine Valley

One of the benefits of the harsh, low-rainfall climate and remote location of the Rise and Shine area is that the evidence of 90 years of mining is largely preserved. The sluicing area offers a good range of typical alluvial mining archaeology. The race is traceable from its origin on Matakanui Station, across Thomsons Saddle and into the upper reaches of the Rise and Shine basin. Every part of the basin was tested in some way by the Rise and Shine miners; however, their main efforts were concentrated on two shallow gullies on the true left of the stream which have been sluiced down to a depth of between 3 and 6 m and up to 90 m from the initial face, a large shallow tailings fan spreading into the valley from each. Each has a complex system of water races and feeders which were adapted to provide water as the gullies were developed. The alluvium did not have large rocks, so the tailings are not formed into ‘herringbone’ patterns, but the sorting and removal of stones from clay can be seen in tidy debris piles in the middle of each gully.



FIGURE 5.25 The Rise and Shine Slicing Syndicate dam between the two main sluicing areas. Photograph L. Carpenter 2013

²¹² ‘Mining Reports - Returns From Quartz - Mines Otago, Central Otago Area 1904-1939’, ANZ-D.

²¹³ Aldridge, p.3.

The dam with its revetted walls, system of interconnected reservoirs and feeder races is still an impressive site and several tangible items of the enterprise remain scattered around, including a heavy piece of iron fluming and bands from barrels and wheel rims (See FIGURE 5.25).

Miner Gilbert Mouat's description of the four-roomed house he purchased is different to the scattered single-roomed structures there today. The eight or nine stone cottages there are humble in size and construction and none have the outbuildings that Peace advertised (for example, see FIGURE 5.26 below). This is not the only reference to large dwellings; as early as 1871 a report in the *Cromwell Argus*²¹⁴ described shareholders 'making additions to their already substantial residences', which reinforces the difference between the standing remains and the contemporary descriptions.²¹⁵



FIGURE 5.26 Rise and Shine miner's cottage. Note revetted platform in front.

Mouat also writes about a 'Chinese village'. Chinese miners were working the upper reaches of Thomsons Creek in early 1871²¹⁶ and in 1880 found an auriferous reef in 1880²¹⁷, but it is unlikely there were more than a dozen or so Chinese miners, given the lack of reference to a larger population in the warden's returns. The most likely candidate for a

²¹⁴ 'Bendigo', *Cromwell Argus*, 22 August 1871, p. 3.

²¹⁵ This is expanded on in the section on 'A ruined landscape' in Chapter 9

²¹⁶ 'Bendigo', *Cromwell Argus*, 22 August 1871, p. 3.

²¹⁷ 'Mining Intelligence', *Cromwell Argus*, 4 May 1880, p. 2.

‘village’ is the small collection of house remnants, 3 miles from the Rise and Shine sluice area, over Thomsons Saddle and upstream from a musterer’s hut on Matakanui Station. Department of Conservation archaeologist Shar Briden has identified these as Chinese, given the presence of typical ceramics in one of the huts.²¹⁸

The most spectacular remains are found at the Come in Time site. Visitors park on a flat area on the ridge between Shepherd’s and Rise and Shine Creeks. From there the open cut work of the 1913 Alta Company can be seen to the north, on the Shepherd’s Creek side. Across the road, a Department of Conservation track drops down to the 1880 Come in Time adit 20 metres below the road. The track leads past a second adit from 1881, to M.B. Edwards’ 1908 Come in Time stamper battery. This battery was extensively renovated in 2008 as a community project by the Otago Goldfields Heritage Trust.

From the battery site, the view across the valley to the south shows the Alta workings. Two lines traverse the slope of the hill from the east, terminating at a patch of dense briar on the hillside. The upper line is the water race, built in 1870 to convey Rise and Shine water for the Alta Company; the lower is the Eureka tramway from 1875. The briar at the end of the race and tramway mark the site of the Alta/Eureka battery, a location which reveals why the original builders found its construction so difficult. Above this is the header unit of the winding plant, the only remaining piece of the aerial ropeway built in 1913. FIGURE 5.25 reveals the complex mining heritage landscape around the Come in Time mine and battery.

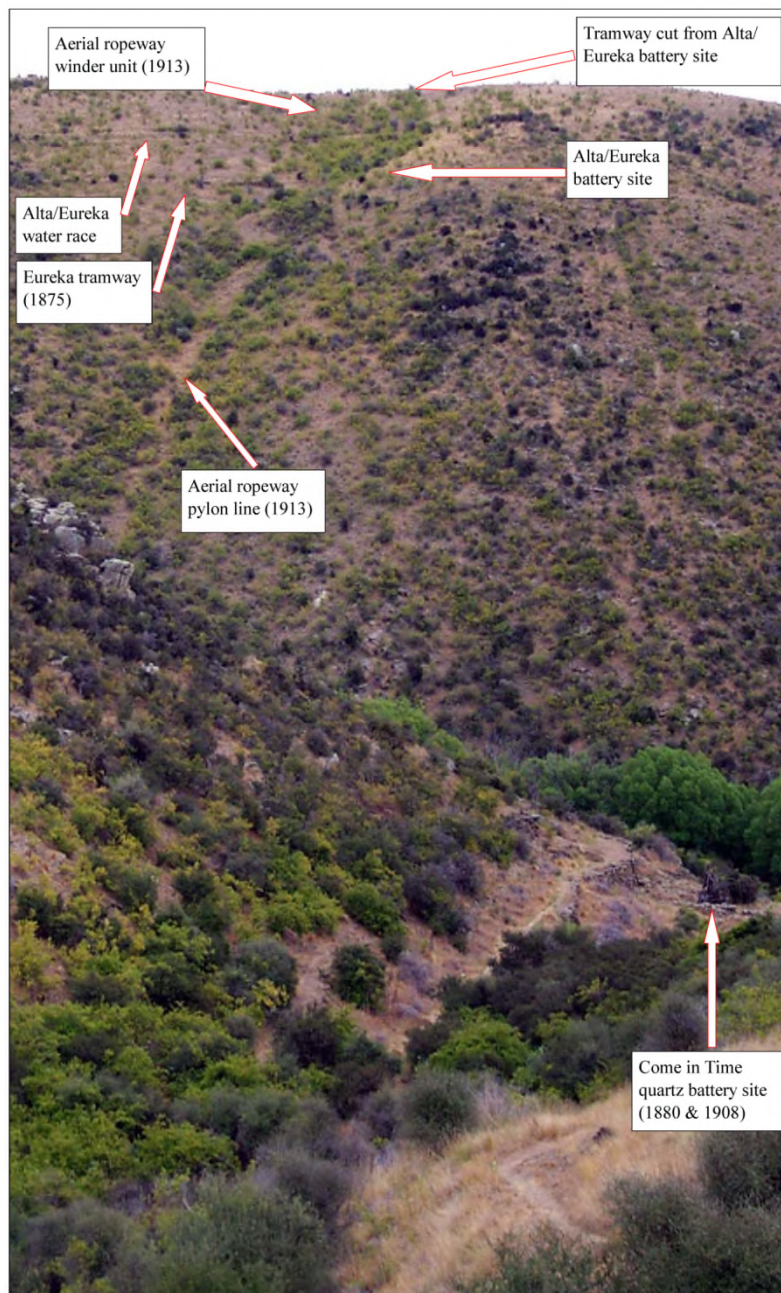
The Alta ground itself is a densely overgrown open-cut, which hides deeper workings below mullock piles. The stone hopper and the formerly-diesel-powered battery from Holmes and Company’s 1903 operation may be seen on a spur to the west of this. A chimney in a gully SE of the workings is from the 1870 Alta house, while a chimney near the Alta/Eureka battery site marks the location of the blacksmith’s shed built by the Eureka Company in 1874.

East along the Thomson’s Gorge Road is the Shine Again battery foundations, then in succession, the 1930s Bendigo Rise and Shine mine adit, then on the left, across the road is the series of adits, foundations and shafts which mark the Eureka/Jubilee claim area. A kilometre further west leads to the Rise and Shine sluicing area and the houses built by that intrepid group of Swedish pioneers.

²¹⁸ pers. comm. via email, 1 May 2012.

FIGURE 2.25 The Come in Time site

Clockwise, from top: 1913 aerial ropeway winder unit; aerial ropeway bucket; 1908 Come in Time quartz battery (restored 2008); Come in Time mine main adit; Alta machine site and race (viewed from Come in Time adit mouth). All photographs L. Carpenter.



Conclusion

The Rise and Shine Valley saw prospectors braving extremes of topography and climate as they dreamed of emulating the success of the Cromwell Company quartz mine at Bendigo. They found enough gold to be hopeful but not enough to pay. They formed companies, solved engineering challenges, built roads and developed a small residential community in this remote location high in the Central Otago hills. It is only in the modern era that quartz ores of Otago are proving remunerative to mining companies and in 2012 Peel Mining commissioned a new study of the Rise and Shine Valley for possible future quartz development.

The mining history of the Rise and Shine Valley is typical of quartz mining efforts in Otago which, with the exception of the Cromwell Company mine at Bendigo, the Scandinavian claim near the Shotover and Bullendale mine at Skippers Canyon, were largely uneconomic despite significant investment and the use of mining expertise.

My survey of the Rise and Shine Valley begs the question how much history is contained in the relatively rich, long-worked areas like Quartz Reef Point, Kawarau Gorge, Skippers Canyon, Manuherikia Point, Bannockburn and the Arrow field (to name just a few), and how viewing a landscape of anonymous piles of mullock, stone cottage ruins or sluice tailings hides a wealth of stories and mining heritage. It therefore suggests the nature and scope of the work required to adequately elucidate a larger field in detail.

We're all cranky, mad, mad, cranky,
most all of us are suffering from quartz upon the brain.

Charles R. Thatcher²¹⁹

²¹⁹ Charles R. Thatcher, 'Quartz on the Brain' In Robert Hoskins, *Goldfield Balladeer*, (Auckland, Collins, 1977), p. 182.

Chapter 6 –Industrialisation – Quartz Company Formation

Farewell to the gold that never I found,
 Goodbye to the nuggets that somewhere abound;
 For it's only when dreaming that I see you gleaming
 Down in the dark deep underground.

Paul Metsers¹

Introduction

Scattered across the Otago landscape are remnants of the search for gold in quartz. Old stamper batteries, deep shafts and dark adits beside piles of mullock and scattered rusty tools and remnants of water wheels all tell of decades of this specialist work. What is not obvious is why these items of industrial heritage are there, how they came to be there, and who were the people who built them, financed them, and worked in them. I chose one mine to examine these questions.

The Cromwell Quartz Mining Company at Bendigo was the richest and most profitable quartz mine in nineteenth century Otago. The mine is iconic in the mining history of the region for several reasons: firstly it began through the efforts of three ordinary miners and the local financier, not the big-business, Dunedin-based investors of later Otago quartz endeavours; secondly in its 42-year life (1866 – 1908), it was one of the longest-worked quartz enterprises in the region, and thirdly it was the basis for the construction of the urban centres of Bendigo (Wakefield, Bendigo, Logantown, and Welshtown). To discover the story of the early years of the Cromwell Quartz Mining Company required a considerable foray into the archives of the Clyde and Cromwell Warden's Courts of the 1860s to uncover the history. What I found was considerably at odds with the historiography. This later emerged an investigation into redressing an historical wrong.

¹ Paul Metsers, (Chorus) *Farewell to the Gold*, 1969, From New Zealand Folk Song Website, URL: <http://folksong.org.nz/fwltgold/>, accessed 18 April, 2013.

The Bendigo Quartz Mining Company, 1866

In January, 1866, a company called the Bendigo Quartz Mining Company employed 'two experienced reefers' to prospect for a reef.² Their efforts attracted the attention of the Cromwell correspondent for the local newspaper, the Clyde-domiciled *Dunstan Times*. In April he wrote:

An addition to the prospects of Bendigo has been made during the past month. A wealthy company in Dunedin has inaugurated perseverance in search of a quartz reef in this district and judging from all appearance the object of this enterprising party is to be obtained.³

The company announced their intention to erect a quartz stamper battery at the mouth of the Bendigo Gorge, registered their claim, extracted half a ton of stone and sent it to Melbourne for assaying.⁴ The report was a favourable three ounces of gold per ton from the Ballarat assayer.⁵ Clyde-based surveyor Julian Coates completed a survey of the claim area in early June,⁶ and then strangely, the newspapers for the remainder of 1866 and for all of 1867 fall silent about quartz mining at Bendigo.

Warden Stratford's comprehensive summary of mining activity in the Upper Clutha area, published in September 1866 does not mention quartz at all and there is no reference to Bendigo quartz in any of the Wardens Court's files of the time.⁷ In 1869, local commentators, writing with the benefit of hindsight, accused the Bendigo Quartz Mining Company of ineptitude, short-sightedness and 'lacking persistence'.⁸ But whatever their reasons, soon after making many public declarations of their intent, completion of extensive exploratory work and spending a large sum of money, sometime before June 1866 (and, it seems from the lack of documentary activity suggesting on-going work, more likely early in May), the company abandoned their efforts and left Bendigo.⁹ Bendigo's quartz potential would need more persistent prospectors to discover it.

² 'Mining Intelligence', *Dunstan Times*, 7 April 1866, p.3.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ 'Dunstan', *Otago Daily Times*, 27 June 1866, Mr Warden Stratford, 'Report', *Dunstan Times*, 19 May 1866, 'Mining Intelligence', *Dunstan Times*, 7 April 1866, p. 3.

⁵ 'Cromwell', *Dunstan Times*, 29 June 1866, p. 3.

⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷ 'Cromwell Goldfield', *Otago Daily Times*, 13 September 1866, p. 5.

⁸ 'Bendigo', *Dunstan Times*, 5 November 1869, p. 2.

⁹ Editorial, *Dunstan Times*, 5 November 1869, p. 2.

Thomas Logan and Jack Garrett

Thomas Logan had experience mining in the Victorian fields of Ballarat and Bendigo and joined the rush to Hartley's Beach in Otago in early 1863. He settled in the Cromwell area, finding work with mining syndicates sluicing the river terraces of Lowburn, the Upper Clutha and in the Kawarau Gorge¹⁰. His experience in Victoria convinced him that there had to be gold-bearing quartz reefs in the region and he was determined to find them. In 1875, the *Otago Daily Times* goldfields Cromwell correspondent recalled that Logan was 'a most energetic prospector, and who used, years ago, to spend a deal of time looking for reefs in the ranges here', noting that he had prospected for auriferous quartz as far as Black's, Tinker's and Thompson's Gullies and added that 'no man in the Dunstan or Cromwell Districts ever expended so much time and money in looking for reefs.'¹¹ Logan, according to his friend and *Otago Daily Times* owner and editor Sir George Fenwick,¹² used to talk of his early years in the Cromwell region and 'how he had worked as a wages hand in some of the sluicing claims of the district, had saved a few pounds and taken to prospecting on his own account until funds ran low and he worked for more; how he again resumed his prospecting in the ranges; of his failure to "strike" anything very promising.'¹³

In mid-1866 Logan (portrait shown in FIGURE 6.1) arrived at Bendigo. His persistence was rewarded when he found the outcrop of a promising-looking reef on a spur above the small gully explored and abandoned by the earlier company.¹⁴ He invited William John ('Jack') Garrett, to join him to develop the claim. Garrett, another miner with experience of Victoria, had arrived at the Dunstan in late 1863. Logan and he had first met when each were involved in sluicing operations at the Roaring Meg; Logan

¹⁰ Dunstan Warden's Court Plaintiff Record Book '62-65, Entry for August 24, 1863, Logan and Party vs. Donegan and Party: disputed use of a water race, Archives NZ, Dunedin Office, DADO Acc D557 130c; Water Race Application dated 18/07/64, signed by Logan and Stewart; Clyde Warden's Court Applications, Archives New Zealand Dunedin Office, ABBO Acc D98 7299.

¹¹ 'I – Quartz Mining in Otago', *Otago Daily Times*, 15 February 1875, p. 3.

¹² 'A Reminiscence of Bendigo Gully', *Otago Witness*, 14 February 1922, p. 63; In this article Fenwick discussed how, when he was one of the pioneers of the *Cromwell Argus* who witnessed the incredible fortunes won by the Cromwell Quartz Mining Company in the late 1860s and early 1870s, he used to meet and talk with Thomas Logan.

¹³ George Fenwick, Correspondence answering letter from Charles Hebden, *Otago Witness*, 22 August 1922, p. 61.

¹⁴ Implied by the statement in 'Letters from the Goldfields – Cromwell', *Otago Witness*, 22 August, 1874, p.6, that 'had the parties only kept on a little longer, and sunk a shaft higher up towards the top of the hill, instead of on its side, they would have found the prize scarcely below the surface. But such was not their luck'.

when he worked with John Stewart sluicing near the Roaring Meg Hotel¹⁵ and Garrett when he headed an ambitious scheme which sought to flume water over the Kawarau in pipes suspended from wire ropes to access virgin ground on the opposite side of the river.¹⁶ He and Logan made an unlikely business pairing; Logan was deliberate and reserved¹⁷ while Garrett was a ‘sporting man,’ renowned for his passion for thoroughbred horses and his geniality and generosity.¹⁸



FIGURE 6.1 Thomas Logan. Photograph ex *Otago Witness* Newspaper 20 November 1912, Dunstan Gold Rush Jubilee Celebration, courtesy Alexandra Public Library archives.

Logan and Garrett knew that a syndicate had an advantage over solitary men when it came to quartz claims; they could apply for registration of their claim under the terms of the mining regulations, preventing any other quartz mining concerns forcing them out. To that end, they registered their quartz claim in July 1866, but they struggled when their credit with Cromwell retailers began to dry up as they were torn between the increasingly promising ground on Bendigo and the need to eat.¹⁹ Their situation was

¹⁵ Water Race Application dated 18/07/64, signed by Logan and Stewart; Clyde Warden's Court Applications, Archives New Zealand Dunedin Office, ABBO Acc D98 7299.

¹⁶ Water race application signed by H. Paddon, Thomas Elliot, John W. Garrett and Robert Bovill, date 12 April 1864. This application met with an objection, which indicates both that Garrett had let his miner's right lapse and that the enterprise had been working there since January 1864; Clyde Warden's Court Applications, Archives New Zealand Dunedin Office, ABBO Acc D98 7299.

¹⁷ George Fenwick, Correspondence answering letter from Charles Hebden, *Otago Witness*, 22 August 1922, p. 61.

¹⁸ Inquest, *Cromwell Argus*, 5 January 1870.

¹⁹ George Magnus Hassing, *Pages From the Memory Log of G.M. Hassing*, (Invercargill, Southland Times, 1930), pp. 46-47.

further complicated by the high costs associated with a quartz lease and one indication of how lean things were, is revealed when Clyde hotelier James Patterson had to sue Garrett for payment of the cost of his hotel stay when he registered the claim.²⁰ Under the regulations a quartz mining lease required a £20 deposit, an official survey, a 21-day objection period and rent of £5 per acre per year, payable in advance (halved in late 1866). For this they got the right to apply of a claim along 400 yards of the quartz vein and 200 yards across the lode.²¹ These were substantial sums in 1866, and in the end, the financial pressure sent them looking for a third partner. They needed someone dependable, enterprising and most importantly, solvent.

They were introduced to Brian ‘Charcoal Joe’ Hebden by the Danish entrepreneur and erstwhile Bendigo ferry business owner, George Magnus Hassing.²² Hebden had emigrated from Ripon, North Yorkshire to the Cromwell area in about 1864. He was a man with remarkable enterprise for his comparative youth, having pursued dam building and mining at Quartz Reef Point with the Nil Desperandum Company, to sluicing at Rocky Point and running a charcoal business from the various Clutha River Islands to supply the blacksmiths in the Cromwell region.²³ He agreed to partner the enterprise and paid £20 for his shareholding. The expanded syndicate commissioned their survey, registered their claim and got down to extracting quartz. For well over a year after the handshake that sealed their deal, Hebden worked his mining and charcoal interests to support the other two shareholders on the claim at Bendigo.²⁴ This is in sharp contrast to the brief few months the Bendigo Company had spent some eighteen months earlier. However despite Hebden’s best efforts, by the time they had payable, gold-bearing stone to show potential investors, it was only the tolerance of John Perriam of the Lowburn Store kept them all from starving.²⁵ But Logan, Garrett and Hebden had found exceptional stone and they knew it. They also knew that their

²⁰ The debt was to James Patterson of the ‘Old Bendigo Family Hotel’. Patterson would later open a sister hotel at Logantown, Clyde Magistrate’s Court Judgement Book, Archives New Zealand Dunedin Office DADO Acc D557 138a.

²¹ Published in the *Otago Gazette* 28 Oct, 1863 pp. 425-427.

²² Hassing, *Pages From the Memory Log of G.M. Hassing*, p. 49. They had offered Hassing the shareholding, but he declined ‘I was much to my regret, unable to join them’ as he was too busy building a boat at Lake Wanaka.

²³ ‘Cromwell’, *Dunstan Times*, 3 February 1866, p. 2; ‘Mining Intelligence’, 2 June 1866, p. 3; George Fenwick, Correspondence, *Otago Witness*, 22 August 1922.

²⁴ John Cassels, ‘Goldfields Pioneers’, *Otago Witness*, 7 June 1884. This is a detail supplied by the Cromwell Police Sergeant from 1864 to 1889, John Cassels. He was a shareholder in the Aurora Quartz Mining Company.

²⁵ George Fenwick, Correspondence, *Otago Witness*, 22 August 1922.

next step would require a quartz stamper battery, water rights, professional builders and miners and a road to link claim and battery. They needed another serious investor to come on board (the area worked by the prospectors – and revealing 40 years of subsequent development – may be seen in FIGURE 6.4, which has Archaeologist Kevin Jones' aerial photograph of the Cromwell Company ground).

Canadian-born George Wellington Goodger (FIGURE 6.2) came to Cromwell in 1862 as one of its first residents.²⁶ He had first-hand mining experience on the goldfields of California and Victoria, mined at Hartley's Beach, Quartz Reef Point, and was briefly involved with the Nil Desperandum Company project to dam the Clutha.²⁷ In 1865 he set up the Junction Commercial Hotel (FIGURE 6.3) in Cromwell and also built the Swan Brewery on the outskirts of town, at Brewery Creek. For the entrepreneurial Goodger in 1868, seeing chunks of quartz liberally studded with gold was a persuasive argument and he joined the enterprise.



FIGURE 6.2 Below: George Wellington Goodger, c. 1870. Photograph courtesy Hocken Collection, used with permission.

²⁶ John Cassels, 'Goldfields Pioneers', *Otago Witness*, 7 June 1884; Kennedy and Murray, *Early Pioneers in the Cromwell Area*, p. 22.

²⁷ Clyde Warden's Court Applications, Archives New Zealand Dunedin ABBO Acc D98 7302, Water Race Applications dated June 1864 and others from August, 1864 and several in 1865; Goodger is one of the original eight shareholders in the Nil Desperandum Company dated 28th September 1864. In October 1864, he divested himself of this shareholding. Clyde Warden's Court Applications, Archives New Zealand Dunedin ABBO Acc D98 7302. D.A. Jolly, writing as 'Pioneer' in the *Cromwell Argus* 3 August 1908, was also a member of the *Nil Desperandum* Company.



FIGURE 6.3 Goodger's Junction Commercial Hotel (L. Carpenter Collection)

The Cromwell Quartz Mining Company at Bendigo

Logan, Garrett, Hebden and now Goodger registered their 'Cromwell Quartz Mining Company' in July, 1868, purchased a quartz stamper battery and water wheel from a defunct Hindon mining company and moved it to their site at Bendigo.²⁸ In the six months it took to erect their battery and waterwheel, they and their newly-hired employees raised and paddocked over 500 tons of stone and hired roadmen to blast out a three mile dray road from their claim on the hill down to the battery at the gorge's mouth.²⁹ The company ledger shows that even with Goodger's money, things ran tight, and loans from the local Gold Receiver, Borthwick Baird were needed to tide them over until the gold started arriving.³⁰

The Cromwell Company's 30ft steel water wheel was sufficiently substantial that with a good supply of water, the five-head battery could be expanded to fifteen heads as future returns allowed.³¹ Logan and his partners ignored the convention of commissioning their machine, simply naming it the 'Solway Battery' and got on with

²⁸ 'The Cromwell Reefs', *Otago Witness*, 20 November, 1869, p. 9; Editorial, *Dunstan Times*, 4 September 1868, p.2.

²⁹ Editorial, *Dunstan Times*, 4 September 1868, p. 2.

³⁰ This is a ledger in the Archives of the Hocken Library (Reference Number AG-099). Hocken Library Description: 'The volume was originally used as a record by the Cromwell Quartz Mining Company (1868 - ca1888). It was later used by Bendigo farmer William Cameron for his farm accounts (ca1909 - 1922)'. Cameron was a miner and resident at Bendigo 1880-1904.

³¹ Editorial, *Dunstan Times*, 4 September 1868, p. 2.

producing gold. Rumours of started flying and when a May 1869 edition of the *Dunstan Times* ventured a guess at Logan and company gaining over 200 ounces of gold from just ten days work, other miners and investors took notice.³² Three more ‘cakes’ of gold resulted from the claim in June and then in July, Vincent Pyke announced that ten days’ crushing had yielded 238 ounces, or more than triple the most profitable yield per ton previously declared by any Otago quartz enterprise to date.³³

Later in July a second find on Bendigo diverted attention away from the Cromwell Company when Edward Barnes, one of the Aurora Sluicing Syndicate men working in Bendigo Gully, found a reef parallel to and north of the Cromwell Company reef. Logan allowed this group to do a trial crushing of their stone in the Solway Battery, and cannot have been surprised to see that the Aurora groups’ good fortune attracted more prospectors to Bendigo to try their luck. Their battery was hard at work, and while the company had to contend with frequent breakdowns to the second-hand machine, over 500 ounces of gold were deposited with the Cromwell Gold Receiver in July and all loans to Baird were repaid.³⁴

The September, 1869 newspapers reported the beginnings of a ‘quartz mania,’ and unconfirmed rumours emerged – which were nevertheless published and even raised in parliament – that the Cromwell Company shareholders were each paid a staggering £4000 dividend for the month.³⁵ By October the area surrounding the Cromwell Company lease and Aurora claim was littered with test pits, new shafts, claim pegs and excited prospectors. But while this storm of prospecting and speculation swirled around them, Logan and his partners quietly got on with working their claim. Reports emerged stating impressive yields, with 157 ounces of gold from four days crushing in September, 216 ounces from ten days a fortnight later and finally details which suggested that Cromwell Company stone would continue to be a consistent two and a half to three ounces of gold per ton.³⁶

In October, an excited *Dunstan Times* journalist declared that Logan, Garrett, Hebden and Goodger had been offered £10,000 for a one-fourth share in the company, a

³² Editorial, *Dunstan Times*, 21 May 1869, p. 2.

³³ ‘Mining’, *Otago Daily Times*, 7 July 1869, p. 7.

³⁴ Editorial, *Otago Witness*, 10 July 1869, p. 13.

³⁵ Vincent Pyke, ‘Dunstan Goldfield Report’, *Otago Witness*, 18 September 1869, p. 14; *Dunstan Times*, 25 September 1869.

³⁶ Vincent Pyke, ‘Dunstan Goldfield Report’, *Otago Witness*, 18 September 1869, p. 14; ‘Mr Warden Pyke on the Cromwell Reefs’, *Tuapeka Times*, 13 November 1869, p. 3.

statement repeated in newspapers across New Zealand and Australia.³⁷ It was parroted so often that Garrett felt compelled to write to the *Otago Witness*, saying ‘Sir, as it has been stated and repeated that we have refused an offer of £10,000 for one of our leases on the Bendigo Reef, we would feel favoured by your publication of this, our distinct contradiction of such statements.’³⁸ He implied that such an offer would be very acceptable to the shareholders, if forthcoming. The whole region became further awash with speculation after Vincent Pyke confirmed an earlier rumour that Cardrona-based prospector Charles Colclough had found very rich stone at Bendigo promised an improbably rich 100 ounces to the ton.³⁹

Then at some point in mid-December 1869, things went sour. On December 24, directly under the *Cromwell Argus* Warden’s Court notice advising receipt of a petition to overturn the Cromwell Company’s exclusive water right at Logantown, appeared a one line notice advising of a petition for the dissolution of the partnership of Logan, Garrett, Hebden and Goodger.⁴⁰ Five days later details emerged from the Warden’s Court hearing on the matter, with the explicit notice that the petition had been filed by Garrett against Logan. At the hearing, which was then postponed due to the illness of Logan, Hebden was appointed temporary manager of the mine pending a second hearing on January 5, 1870.⁴¹ What could have caused such a rift in an already successful, immensely profitable concern like the Cromwell Company remains a mystery, but it is probable that the frequent speculation in the newspapers about what shares might be worth had caught Garrett’s imagination, tempting him to request that the partnership be dissolved so he could sell up and live well on the proceeds. The reasons will never be known, because within two days of this hearing, Jack Garrett was dead, killed after a fall from a half-broken thoroughbred horse he had just purchased.

At the inquest five days later, Logan stood and wept for his friend, declaring how Jack Garrett had ‘by his liberality and genial manner, made many friends in this and the neighbouring districts.’ He also said (despite the recent Court action) that he

³⁷ The Initial report was from the *Dunstan Times* in early October 1869, and in editions published around 16 October 1869 it was repeated by the *Otago Daily Times*, *Otago Witness*, *Grey River Argus*, *Tuapeka Times* and the *Bruce Herald* and by several papers in Australia, most notably the *Melbourne Argus*, 20 October 1869, p.7 and the *Brisbane Courier* of the same date.

³⁸ J.W. Garrett, Correspondence, *Otago Witness*, 4 December 1869, p. 14.

³⁹ ‘Mr Warden Pyke’s Report’, *Otago Witness*, 13 November 1869, p 11.

⁴⁰ Warden’s Court, *Cromwell Argus*, 24 December 1869, p 2.

⁴¹ Warden’s Court, *Dunstan Times*, 29 December 1869, p. 2.

‘was, and had always been, a true friend and dependable partner.’⁴² With Garrett’s death, moves to dissolve the company were set aside, relationships were restored and the remaining partners applied themselves to the business of their mine.

There was a farcical addendum to Garrett’s story. The Spiritualist church was set up in Dunedin in May, 1870 and immediately held séances. Looking for a *cause célèbre*, they chose the public outpouring of grief in the Cromwell following Garrett’s death and held a séance for his spirit. The people gathered were assured they were visited by the restless, unhappy spirit of Jack Garrett who was, declared the séance leader, upset to see that his grave had no headstone. This story and the claims made by this ghostly visitation was faithfully narrated in the *Dunstan Times* in July, 1870. Dates were compared, and a sarcastic letter was immediately dispatched for the next issue, pointing out that the séance was held exactly three weeks after Garrett’s tombstone was erected by his grieving friends.⁴³

Later in January, Goodger was elected Mayor of Cromwell, Logan and Hebden hired contractors to drive the shafts on their claim deeper, and they were able to welcome the arrival of the second set of five stampers for the Solway battery. Then in February problems with their water supply caused gold production to cease. Logan, Hebden and Goodger went the Cromwell Warden’s Court to settle a water dispute prompted by the actions of the veteran sluicer Aldread who had set up operations in Bendigo Gully.⁴⁴

Aldread had been part of the hugely profitable All England sluicing operation at Sandy Point in the late 1860s⁴⁵ and now in 1870 he bought out a group of Chinese miners at who had profitably worked a Bendigo alluvial claim for the previous six months. The Chinese miners had caused a minor rush back to Bendigo Gully when they discovered that sinking a deep hole into a gravel hill near where the gully widened exposed a very rich layer of gold-bearing soil.⁴⁶ They went home, happy to pocket 1250 ounces for their six months work⁴⁷ in addition to the price they received for the sale of their claim. Aldread knew that the volume of the west branch of Bendigo Creek had

⁴² Notice, *Cromwell Argus*, 5 January 1870, p. 3, for the death notice and subsequent inquest by Dr Corse.

⁴³ ‘Occasional Notes from the Metropolis’, *Dunstan Times*, 8 July 1870, p. 2.

⁴⁴ William Aldread, George Mathieson & Walter Fearnley v Thomas Logan, Brian Hebden & George Wellington Goodger – 13 April 1870, Clyde Warden’s Court Plaintiff Files, Archives New Zealand, Dunedin, C 705 026 DAEQ D573 21689 29.

⁴⁵ ‘Mining’, *Dunstan Times*, 3 March 1866, p. 3.

⁴⁶ ‘The Bendigo Gully Quartz Reefs’ *Otago Witness*, 13 November 1869, p. 11.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*

substantially increased with the addition of the Aurora water race flow, diverted for their newly-erected battery, so he appropriated it to expand his sluicing ground in the gully. This rendered the water unusable for the Solway Battery as sludge-filled water carried away the gold from the tables.⁴⁸ Following precedent under the Mines law, the Warden ruled against Aldread and the sluicing was stopped.

Water problems sorted, the mine road rumbled with loads of stone piled on heavy drays, pulled by teams of horses down to the battery, and by the middle of March, 500 ounces of gold was rumoured to be the result of the latest crushing.⁴⁹ The future was looking remarkably rich for the Cromwell Company and Brian Hebden celebrated by getting married. Reverend Drake officiated at the ceremony in Cromwell's new Schoolhouse and immediately afterwards the newlyweds Brian and Matilda Hebden led a procession of carts and buggies to Bendigo.⁵⁰ As they approached John Perriam's Provincial Hotel at Logantown, they were startled by a series of very loud blasts.⁵¹ The Cromwell Company miners had been granted a holiday in honour of the occasion, and they spent it creating Bendigo's version of a fireworks display for the popular Hebden. They distributed themselves around the rocky ledges and hilltops near Logantown and drilled shallow holes, loading each with a small gunpowder charge and fuse and waiting for the arrival of the wedding party and their friends. The salvoes of these charges exploding in the twilight air greeted everyone and, presumably after the horses had been calmed, they all went to the Provincial for a concert and dance, with newly re-elected Cromwell Mayor George Goodger acting as master of ceremonies.⁵²

The Cromwell mine continued to yield very good returns, averaging 2½ ounces of gold per ton of stone,⁵³ but when a three-inch nut fell into their machine, crushing ceased.⁵⁴ Logan and Hebden had stone crushed by the Aurora Company's machine to maintain cashflow,⁵⁵ paid engineer Robert Reid to fix their old machine, and decided to erect their second battery.⁵⁶ They had over a thousand tons of stone 'paddocked' for

⁴⁸ William Aldread, George Mathieson & Walter Fearney v Thomas Logan.

⁴⁹ 'Bendigo Gully Reefs', *Dunstan Times*, 18 March 1870, p. 3.

⁵⁰ 'Local and General', *Cromwell Argus*, 23 March 1870, p. 2.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*

⁵² 'Bendigo Gully', *Dunstan Times*, 25 March 1870, p. 2.

⁵³ 'Bendigo Gully', *Cromwell Argus*, 10 June 1870, p. 3.

⁵⁴ Editorial, *Dunstan Times*, May 11, 1870, p. 2.

⁵⁵ 'Accident to the Cromwell Co's Machine', *Cromwell Argus*, May 11, 1870

⁵⁶ Editorial, *Dunstan Times*, May 11, 1870, p. 2; note the comparison with the actions of the Alta Company in the Rise and Shine Valley (Chapter 5)

when they could get back into full production.⁵⁷ Dividends continued to flow, with the company ledger showing Logan, Goodger and Hebden receiving £200 per week throughout the rest of 1870, with crushing returns declared of up to 3½ ounces of gold per ton.



FIGURE 6.4 Cromwell Company Workings and Matilda Battery site. The lines of reef wrought by the company may be seen extending from the lower centre (Matilda Battery site) vertically. The area of reef first prospected by Logan and Garrett was to the left and above the small hut in the lower centre. Image Courtesy Kevin Jones, Kevin L. Jones Archaeology Ltd., used with permission.

⁵⁷ Otago, *Grey River Argus*, 6 August 1870, Supplement, p. 1.

In late 1871, tragedy again struck the shareholders, with the sudden death from illness of twenty-six year-old Matilda Hebden.⁵⁸ Her gravestone is in the old Cromwell cemetery, and it seems likely that this was the spur to Brian Hebden deciding to sell up and return to Britain. He had purchased the intestate Garrett's shareholding in the Cromwell Mine, so at the time of selling was the majority shareholder. His shares in the Cromwell, Golden Link, Golden Crown, Alta and Victoria claims were so substantial, it took a while for the sharebrokers to find a buyer.⁵⁹ Eventually the local Gold Receiver, Borthwick Baird bought all of Hebden's interests, beginning an association with the company that was to last for decades. In August, 1872 Hebden left for Ripon in Yorkshire, where he purchased Albion House. In 1874 he married Mary Ann Moss,⁶⁰ and bought into the nearby family-owned Moss Varnish Works.⁶¹ A year later they had a daughter Tilly May Hebden, who died before she was one⁶² and in 1877 their son, Charles Albert Hebden was born. He then built a home in Ripon which he called 'Clutha' after the river that had played such a big part in his earlier life. In 1923 Charles would visit the Bendigo area to see the scene of his father's success.⁶³ Brian 'Charcoal Joe' Hebden achieved the dream of every Central Otago miner. He arrived in the area poor but hopeful, worked hard, took risks, invested wisely and eventually cashed up to return 'home' to England wealthy. He died in 1913, leaving a substantial legacy to his family.

In 1875, Thomas Logan sold two-thirds of his shareholding for £10,000, precipitating the 1876 formation of the Cromwell Quartz Mining Company, a public company with 12,000 shares of £6 each.⁶⁴ Baird and Goodger each had 4000, Logan 1200 and the rest were held by Dunedin businessmen.⁶⁵ Logan shifted to New South Wales, where he ran a number of railway contracts eventually returning to Dunedin,

⁵⁸ Matilda Hebden's gravestone in the old Cromwell cemetery reads 'Sacred to the memory of MATILDA, the beloved wife of Brian Hebden Who died after a brief illness Dec 13th, 1871. Aged 26 years.'

⁵⁹ 'Mining Shares', *Otago Witness*, 24 August 1872, p. 12.

⁶⁰ Hebden Family Genealogy website, John Hebden, lead researcher, URL: <http://www.hebdens.com/Tree%20Charts/Sheet%2030%20London%20Leeds%20Michigan.pdf> Chart 30, F38/30 accessed May, 2010.

⁶¹ Detail supplied by John Hebden, Lead Historian of Ripon Local Studies, Yorkshire. URL: <http://www.riponlocalstudies.org/>

⁶² Hebden Family Genealogy website, John Hebden, lead researcher, URL: <http://www.hebdens.com/Tree%20Charts/Sheet%2030%20London%20Leeds%20Michigan.pdf> Chart 30, F38/30 accessed May, 2010.

⁶³ Letter to the Editor of the *Otago Witness*, June 6, 1922 from Charles A. Hebden

⁶⁴ Editorial, *Cromwell Argus*, 29 September 1875.

⁶⁵ Advertisements, *Cromwell Argus*, 26 January 1876.

where he died in 1897.⁶⁶ The Cromwell Company continued in various corporate guises, including ownership by two separate Dunedin investing consortiums and eventually several iterations of England-based owners, finally petering out as a company operation in the early 1890s and running under tribute until its closure in 1906.

After going through a string of hopeful owners and several attempts to reopen the mine, the company's Matilda battery was sold to the Come in Time Company in 1908.⁶⁷ Somewhere around 1915, the property was purchased by a businessman who had started school at Bendigo, Charles Todd. Despite having a nostalgic attachment to the place, he did nothing about the mine until he had retired from his business life in the 1930s.

Charles Todd's New Bendigo Company.

Charles Todd (Jnr) was the son of Charles Todd, Cromwell Company mine manager 1878 - 1889. He attended school at Bendigo and followed his father into a fellmongery business at Heriot, which he had used to springboard into the successful business which became the modern Todd Corporation.⁶⁸ After an illustrious career, he turned the running of the motor, stock agency and oil businesses over to his sons and retired from active business life following financial difficulties surrounding wool futures speculation, and sought new opportunities.⁶⁹ He declared his desire to 'give old Bendigo another go',⁷⁰ and decided to pursue the low-level adit started by the Melbourne – based Cromwell Mines Development Company in 1906.⁷¹

The attraction of a low-level adit was that it would save money by allowing drainage of the flooding in the old Cromwell Company workings and expose previously unworked gold bearing quartz at low levels.⁷² This was not the first such idea: in 1874 a

⁶⁶ This detail is supplied by a letter from one of Thomas Logan's descendants to Ron Murray, who was completing the entry for Logan to be published in *Southern People. A dictionary of Otago Southland biography*, Hocken Library Reference: Thomson, Jane: Papers relating particularly to 'Southern People. A dictionary of Otago Southland biography / edited by Jane Thomson' (MS-1926) MS-1926/1034.

⁶⁷ 'Mining Notes', *Cromwell Argus*, 20 July 1908, p. 6. (See Chapter 5).

⁶⁸ Company brochure, *The Todd Group of Companies* (Wellington, Todd Corporation, 1983).

⁶⁹ Detail supplied by Ross Galbreath, who is writing a history of the Todd family (with the cooperation of the Todds).

⁷⁰ 'Mining', *Cromwell Argus*, 21 March 1932, p. 11.

⁷¹ Prospectus of *The New Bendigo Mining Company Limited*, 19 October 1934, p. 3, Archives New Zealand, Dunedin Regional Office. Archive Reference DAAB/9055/D92/104e AC1413.

⁷² Ordinary prospecting licence—Bendigo and Happy Valley, Archives New Zealand, Wellington Office.

considerable number of Cromwell and Clyde investors had their fingers burned by the Bendigo Deep Level Company, which had begun an adit from Bendigo Gully to pass under the Guano, Richmond, Lucknow, and Aurora reefs. The idea was to access the (theoretically) rich stone to be found in depth, without the expense of lifting gear, pumps, poppet heads and so on. This scheme was a disaster, due to surprisingly hard stone and unexpectedly poor gold levels. The shareholders lost considerably, since it scarcely extended beyond seventy yards length. It was felt that Todd's New Cromwell Company enterprise would be more successful, due to its aim at the area worked by the

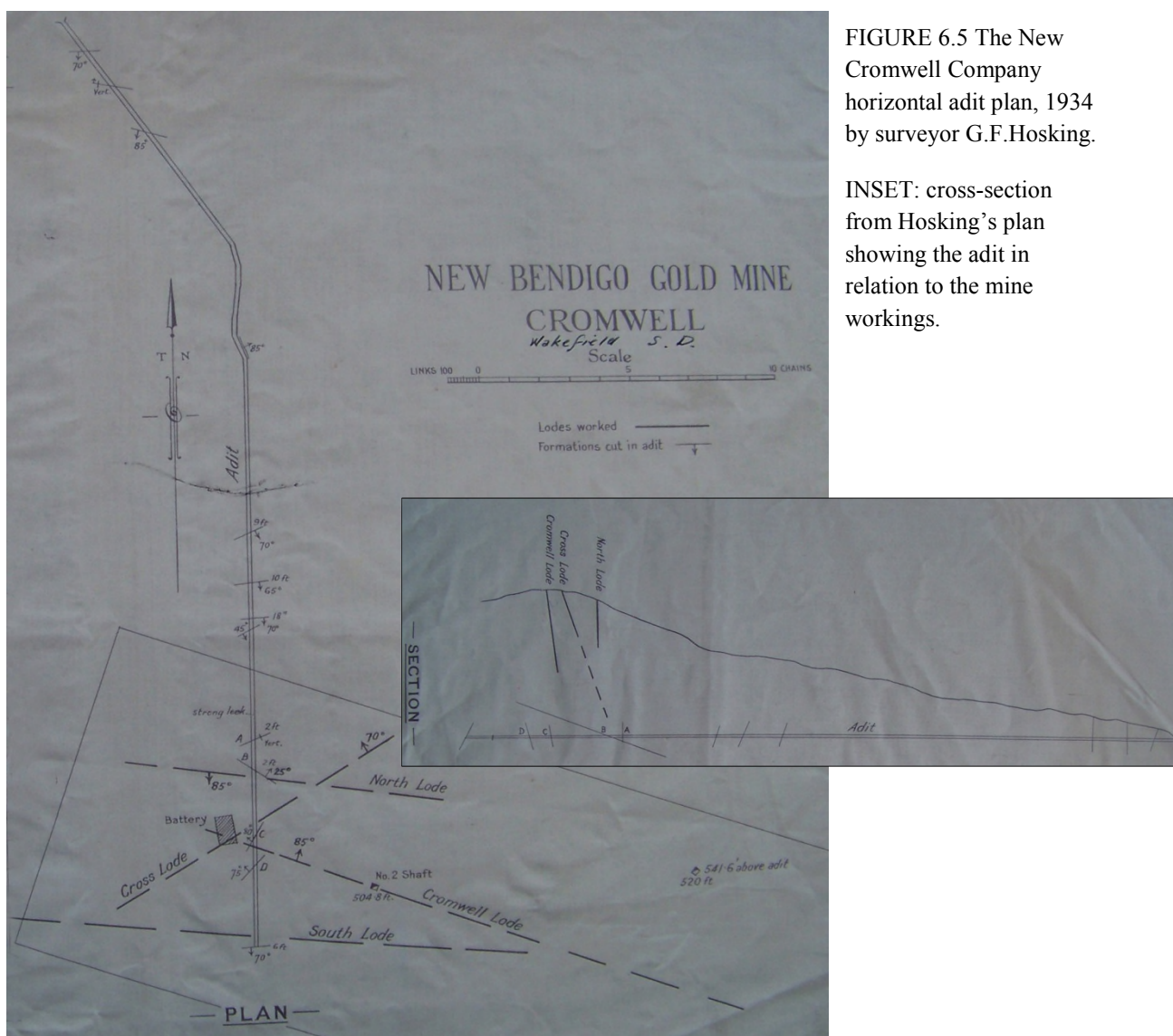


FIGURE 6.5 The New Cromwell Company horizontal adit plan, 1934 by surveyor G.F.Hosking.

INSET: cross-section from Hosking's plan showing the adit in relation to the mine workings.

richest of the claims, the Cromwell ground (see FIGURE 6.5). After a year spent sourcing machinery and completing preparatory work, the Unemployment Board paid a subsidy allowing the company to employ contractors (at the rate of £2-12-6 a

foot).⁷³ The site was visited by Prime Minister G.W. Forbes in January 1934, and was regularly used by the DSIR to maintain mining knowledge among its managers.⁷⁴ After three years work, a combination of exhausted finances, a 2110ft long adit, a complete absence of gold-bearing quartz and an improving national economy saw the company wound up and its assets sold at auction in 1938.

In an addendum to this study, I was surprised in the course of my research into the early years of the Cromwell Company to read several histories which discussed an audacious, dishonest move by Thomas Logan at Bendigo.

Accusations of dishonesty

James Crombie Parcell, a prominent and well-respected Cromwell lawyer, wrote the *Heart of the Desert* to detail the gold, farming and governmental history of the Cromwell region, which included Bendigo Gully. He reached the conclusion that the discovery of the Cromwell Company's riches was predicated on a brazen fraud committed by Thomas Logan, and thus constructed the *narratological* foundations upon which every subsequent writer has discussed quartz mining at Bendigo. According to Parcell,

Thomas Logan had gone to Bendigo in 1863 and taken up a quartz claim that nobody would look at. He could produce some wonderful specimens of gold-studded quartz which people would only admire and throw away. Nothing but alluvial mining was considered worthwhile. Logan, while working as an ordinary miner most of his time, fought steadily from 1863 to 1866 to get someone with money to come into partnership with him and open up the reef. At last, on the strength of the report Julian Coates made in 1865, a party of Dunedin capitalists formed the Bendigo Quartz Mining Company and took up sixteen and a half acres of land, including Logan's area. Logan thought they were treating him unfairly and retaliated in kind by losing the leader and running out on poor, hungry stone. The syndicate soon got tired of it and dropped the claim which Logan promptly took up again. But Bendigo was away to a bad start, being dubbed a duffer by all those who did not know the inside story.⁷⁵

⁷³ *Ibid.*

⁷⁴ D.S.I.R., *Cromwell Argus*, 22 January, 1934, p. 5.

⁷⁵ Parcell, p. 126

In 1976, Stan and Ron Murray wrote *Costly Gold*⁷⁶, a popular history which sought to debunk the myths of the ‘good old days’ of the Central Otago gold mining, (and the book which was directly responsible for igniting my passion for Otago’s gold rush history), which re-worded Parcell’s narrative, repeating his assertions.⁷⁷ More books followed: Geoffrey Duff’s 1978 *Sheep May Safely Graze – the Story of the Morven Hills Station & the Tarras District*, Erik Olssen’s 1984 *A History of Otago*, the Cromwell Historical Society’s *Early Pioneers in the Cromwell Area*, and most recently John Hall-Jones’ *The Goldfields of Otago, an Illustrated History* and Gerald Cunningham’s *Illustrated History of Central Otago and the Queenstown Lakes District*, and each featured Parcell’s assertion of Logan’s dishonest dealings with his business partners or employer.⁷⁸

If these narratives are correct, then Thomas Logan, Otago pioneer and quartz company builder, started on his path to riches with a significant act of dishonesty, and the true pioneers of the Bendigo quartz reefs remain both unrecognised and cheated of the wealth which came from the mine.

Background to Parcell’s Idea

The last reference to the Bendigo Quartz Mining Company noted the survey on June 20 1866, while Logan and Garrett’s claim was registered on July 14 at the Clyde Warden’s Office.⁷⁹ Given that the Bendigo Quartz Mining Company employed two men to locate and exploit a reef in the Cromwell area, and when the company left the area two men, Thomas Logan and Jack Garrett took a lease on a quartz claim at Bendigo, it may be suggested that the proximity in time between the ending of the Company’s efforts and the registering of the Logan/Garrett claim appears suspiciously short. It is making quite a leap to assert that the two miners hired by the company were Logan and Garrett and

⁷⁶ Stan Murray was a retired Presbyterian Minister and Ron Murray was a widely-respected Cromwell historian who worked for thirty years as a clerk for James Parcell

⁷⁷ John Stanley Murray and Ron W. Murray, *Costly Gold*, Auckland, 1976, pp. 66-8.

⁷⁸ Geoff Duff, *Sheep May Safely Graze – the Story of the Morven Hills Station & the Tarras District*, (Tarras, 1978), p. 73; Erik Olssen *A History of Otago*, (Dunedin, 1984), p. 66; Noel Kennedy and Ron Murray, *Early Pioneers in the Cromwell Area, 1863 – 1880*, (Cromwell Historical Society, Cromwell, 2004), p. 2 (Ron Murray also wrote a similar entry for *Southern People*, Jane Thomson (Ed) (Dunedin, 1998), p. 284); John Hall-Jones, *Goldfields of Otago, an Illustrated History* (Invercargill, 2005), p. 88; Gerald Cunningham, *Illustrated History of Central Otago and Queenstown Lakes District*, (Auckland 2005), pp. 50-51.

⁷⁹ Registered in the name of Garrett, Clyde Warden’s Court Mining AG Leases Register 1864-1872, July 1866 Receipts, Archives New Zealand Dunedin Office, DAEQ 21670 Acc.

that they acted dishonestly to steal the riches off the Dunedin investors, but since so many have done just that, it is necessary to look at the evidence.

James Julian Coates,⁸⁰ the man named by Parcell, the Murrays, Hall-Jones and Vincent Pyke as the finder of the Bendigo Reefs occupies a critical role in Bendigo's quartz discoveries. He was appointed the Dunstan-Mt Benger District Chief Surveyor on March 26, 1863,⁸¹ and began work to investigate and survey the alluvial flats between Clyde and Alexandra. He was required to make note of the auriferous potential and geology of the ground and to make recommendations. He was also busy mapping, writing reports and conducting surveys under commission by syndicates and quartz mining companies, all of whom relied on his independence, financial disinterest and professionalism.

Coates appears in the pages of the *Otago Witness*, *Otago Daily Times* and *Dunstan Times* throughout 1864 and 1865, reporting on alluvial fields, completing surveys and making recommendations on the prospects for quartz. In 1865, he was sent to Bendigo, where he wrote a detailed account including an analysis of the terrace drifts in the gully which led him to declare that the geological strata of the gravels there would reward sluicing men if adequate water could be conveyed there. His report had two critical aspects: firstly, on the strength of Coates' recommendation, a group of local sluicers formed the Aurora Syndicate to build a ten mile-long race from Devil's Creek to Bendigo to exploit these and secondly – and most importantly for this chapter – he made absolutely no mention of quartz at Bendigo.⁸²

In 1866, as previously discussed, the company employed men to extract stone and announced their plans for a stamper battery at Bendigo. This was not necessarily enough to attract the attention of Coates, but the next move the company made certainly was. Registering a quartz mining claim is a three-stage process: filing a prospecting claim, organising a survey of the claim area, registering that survey with a mining lease and the payment of the lease fees. True to this practice, the 'Bendigo Quartz Mining Company' registered their prospecting claim on March 14, 1866,⁸³ and then engaged

⁸⁰ Note that while Coates is generally referred to as 'Julian Coates', his full name was 'James Julian Coates', and is occasionally called 'James Coates' in newspaper reports.

⁸¹ 'News of the Week', *Otago Witness*, 25 April 1863, p. 5.

⁸² 'Goldfields of Otago', *Otago Witness*, 23 September 1865, p. 6.

⁸³ Unusually – a word that is over-used when discussing this company, this was not registered in the company name, but was registered in the name of 'Connell and Moodie', Clyde Warden's Court Mining

Coates to complete a survey of their area at Bendigo. With Coates on leave throughout April and May, 1866⁸⁴, they were delayed in having this vital step completed until June.

Coates' duties were simple and prescribed, both by professional ethics and his status as a government official: he was required to complete a survey on the land under claim as required by the Goldfields Act of 1865; he could not hold a pecuniary interest as prospector, shareholder, organiser, office holder or employee of any company for whom he completed a survey.⁸⁵ This long-standing convention was reinforced early in 1866 by the public opprobrium accorded to a surveyor called Hardy, who mixed his professional work and his own financial interests at the Tokomairiro's Canada Reef Mine, resulting in a court case and a public castigation from *Otago Witness* editorial writers.⁸⁶

The work of the prospectors on Bendigo was not secret; miners in Bendigo Gully noted the activity and headed up the hill to peg out their own claims near the company men. Their actions had potential benefits: if the company made a rich strike, these men stood to gain from the sale of shares in their ground to speculators and other miners. It was precisely this sort of behaviour that led to Warden Vincent Pyke issuing an edict preventing this behaviour at Bendigo in 1870 (he was enraged to find men claiming ground and making no effort to work it, relying on fevered speculation to yield a windfall sale to hopeful newcomers). Such action was fraught with risk, as these later arrivals would not necessarily know which of the datum pegs around the area being worked actually applied to the company claim, and without a registered claim, they had no rights whatsoever.

And so it proved. In early June 1866 Coates arrived with Assistant Surveyor Bates to survey the Bendigo Quartz Mining Company claim. The *Dunstan Times* records that they 'surveyed a prospecting claim for the fortunate company and while doing so caused a considerable amount of annoyance to those who for some time had marked out claims in close proximity to the spot where the company men had sunk for

AG Leases Register 1864-1872, March 1866 Receipts, Archives New Zealand Dunedin Office, DAEQ 21670 Acc.

⁸⁴ 'Mr Mining Surveyor Coate's Report', *Otago Witness*, 16 June 1866, p. 4.

⁸⁵ New Zealand Institute of Surveyors, an incorporated society established to monitor and maintain the professional and ethical conduct of surveyors in New Zealand, confirms that these standards prevailed at that time and are required today, (email June 2011).

⁸⁶ 'Mr Hardy, and the Canada Reef', *Otago Witness*, 12 January 1866, p. 13.

the reef.’⁸⁷ The sight of the surveyors ripping out all datum pegs found on the sixteen acres surveyed cannot have endeared them to the other miners, but this was not illegal. In a desperate scramble the local prospectors pegged new claims beside the delineated company ground and re-commenced their search.⁸⁸

Coates took time while he was at Bendigo to re-evaluate the alluvial prospects of the area in addition to completing his survey, but while many more reef systems were found in the 1869-75 quartz boom at Bendigo, Coates did not discover, refer to, or even speculate about the possible existence of additional lodes in this report. The analysis of the prospects of the Bendigo area was then incorporated into an extensive description of the entire Dunstan field and published in mid-June. He stated he had surveyed a quartz claim of sixteen acres, north-south over the crest of a hill beside the gully known locally (along with two others in the Dunstan with the same name) as Specimen Gully.⁸⁹ Coates then moved from Otago to Auckland,⁹⁰ Thames then the new Inangahua district.⁹¹ His survey of the Bendigo Quartz Mining Company’s ground was never registered; no copy was filed with the Warden and no ground rental was paid on the lease,⁹² suggesting that by the time the survey was complete, the company was defunct and no further expenditure was authorised.

Complicating my analysis of Coates’ work are statements made by local newspapers and Vincent Pyke. When the reefs had proven payable and in the midst of the ‘quartz mania’ at Bendigo, the *Dunstan Times* said that:

the reefs at Bendigo Gully and the Upper Nevis were discovered as early as 1863 ... [and] in September of that year, specimens in which the presence of the precious metal was plainly distinguishable were brought into Clyde ... [but] the public mind was too much occupied with alluvial mining in those days to pay much attention to quartz mining.⁹³

They repeated and added detail to this assertion in November, stating:

Some three or four years since, in the columns of this journal, we drew attention to the fact of the existence of Quartz Reefs in the

⁸⁷ ‘Cromwell’, *Dunstan Times*, 29 June 1866, p. 2.

⁸⁸ ‘Cromwell Mining’, *Dunstan Times*, 6 July 1866, p. 3.

⁸⁹ ‘Mr Mining Surveyor Coate’s Report’, *Otago Daily Times*, 11 June 1866, p.5.

⁹⁰ Advertisements, *Daily Southern Cross*, 11 May 1870, p. 2. This announces the bankruptcy of Coates, giving his address as Alten Rd, Auckland.

⁹¹ ‘News of the Week’, *Otago Witness*, 27 April 1872, p.15.

⁹² Clyde Warden’s Court Mining AG Leases Register 1864-1872, 1866 Receipts, Archives New Zealand Dunedin Office, DAEQ 21670 Acc D573 19b.

⁹³ Editorial, *Dunstan Times*, 8 October 1869, p. 2.

locality of Bendigo Gully, and ... we were supported by the experience and knowledge of Mr Coates, at that time District Surveyor, who, in an elaborate report, entered at great length on the subject. On the faith of these representations, a company of Dunedin capitalists applied for a lease of sixteen and a half acres in the name of the Bendigo Quartz Mining Company; a shaft was sunk on the reef, but, unfortunately for them, the gold was not struck, and consequently, after the expenditure of a large sum of money, they abandoned it.⁹⁴

In 1874 they returned to this theme:

In 1863 gold-bearing quartz was found upon the surface of several of the little chain of hills which are known now as Bendigo Mr. Mining Surveyor Coates, of the Dunstan, was the first to initiate a systematic search, and through Messrs Connell and Moodie, of Dunedin, a party of men prospected for some months the very ground now held by the Cromwell Company, and which has lately proved the richest quartz mine in New Zealand.⁹⁵

Then Vincent Pyke, veteran goldfields administrator, lawmaker and Member of Parliament echoed these statements in his 1887 *Early Gold Discoveries in Otago*, declaring that

In 1864 Mr Julian Coates, at that time mining surveyor at Dunstan, reported to Mr Warden Robinson, that he had found a hill bestrewn with golden quartz, and a rich reef projecting from the surface. But no reliance was placed on his statement.⁹⁶

The *Dunstan Times*, a newspaper I cite as a reliable authority for other references, and goldfields supremo Vincent Pyke, both unequivocally credit Julian Coates with discovering the original reef at Bendigo, refuting the above summary of events. To go against both major sources needs strong evidence.

When the reef systems of Hindon were first discovered in late 1863, Julian Coates was dispatched to write a report, which was published in the *Otago Daily Times*,⁹⁷ and when rumours of a reef on the Serpentine emerged in January 1864⁹⁸ and were confirmed with an application for protection,⁹⁹ he was in action again, with the results appearing in print. When a rich field at the Waihola was found in May, he reported 'hills thickly strewn with quartz debris', recommending on the strength of his observations, that 'the line of country between the Waihola and the Waipori [should

⁹⁴ Dunstan Quartz Reefs, *Southland Times* (quoting the *Dunstan Times*), 15 November 1869, p. 3.

⁹⁵ Letters from the Goldfields – Cromwell District, *Otago Witness*, 22 August 1874, p. 6.

⁹⁶ Vincent Pyke, *Early Gold Discoveries in Otago*, published in the *Otago Witness*, 25 March 1887, p. 14.

⁹⁷ Taieri Gold Field, *Otago Daily Times*, 28 November, 1863, p. 5.

⁹⁸ Mount Benger, *Otago Daily Times*, 14 January 1864, p. 6.

⁹⁹ The Gold Fields, *Otago Daily Times*, 18 March 1864, p. 10.

receive] the attention of quartz reefers, and am of opinion that, if thoroughly prospected, good results would accrue.’¹⁰⁰ But there is complete and total silence about Bendigo from Coates.

He never failed to report his activities, and the newspapers never failed to publish them when he submitted them, even offering his casual opinions when they were heard. Further, in November, 1864, each of the Otago mining surveyors furnished a report which summarised the alluvial, sluicing and deep-sinking activities, together with the quartz potential in the area for which they were responsible. Coates’ contribution¹⁰¹ summarised considerable activity from Quartz Reef Point to the Carrick, highlighting no activity, potential or quartz at Bendigo Gully – in fact, he did not use the Bendigo name or location at all.¹⁰² Additionally, there are two detailed summaries published in the *Otago Witness* of July, 1865 which notably fail to mention Bendigo in the potential for development of a quartz industry; reports which detail the quartz found in areas across the province, from Hindon to Macetown. Then in his June, 1866 report of the quartz reef explored by the Bendigo Quartz Mining Company, Coates discusses work done to find and work the reef without any reference to having been there himself to investigate reefs there at an earlier time. This contrasts completely with every other quartz report he ever wrote, where he details how it was first explored, when and by whom, suggesting that in the case of Bendigo, this reef had just been found and it was entirely new to him.¹⁰³

It is notable that Pyke prefaces comments in his *History of the Early Gold Discoveries in Otago* with ‘I think I am correct in saying’ and adding, ‘I should not care to say positively who discovered the famous Bendigo reef,’¹⁰⁴ writing with an imprecision and prevarication which contrasts with his reports of other reefs. In all other accounts, it is clear from the meticulous use of dates and personal details that he has reports and surveys available at his elbow as he writes; but Bendigo was outside his area of responsibility until 1868. Two other things are noticeable: one is the strong similarity between Coates’ report of Hindon having ‘hills thickly strewn with quartz debris’ and Pyke’s report of Coates describing Bendigo as ‘a hill bestrewn with golden quartz’; and

¹⁰⁰ Vincent Pyke, Official Report of the Goldfields, *Otago Daily Times*, 18 June 1864, p. 9.

¹⁰¹ The Gold Fields, *Otago Daily Times*, November 18, 1864, p. 9.

¹⁰² Before areas were given names, they were referred to in reports as ‘a gully 14 miles north of the Junction, or ‘on the western slopes of the Dunstan Range’ etc. None of this is evident.

¹⁰³ For example, see Mr Mining Surveyor Coate’s Report, *Otago Daily Times*, 12 June 1866, p. 5.

¹⁰⁴ V. Pyke, *History of the Early Gold Discoveries in Otago*, (Dunedin, Otago Daily Times and Witness Newspapers Company, 1887), p. 116.

secondly the similarity between Pyke's and the newspaper's narrative. It is reasonable to conclude, given that the *Dunstan Times* premises was immediately across the road from Pyke's Clyde office, that he used the paper's archives to fill in any gaps and conflated their accounts with Coates' comments as he remembered them.

None of these assertions are made or repeated by the local newspaper, the *Cromwell Argus*,¹⁰⁵ the newspaper that emerged in 1869 as the sometimes bitter competitor to the *Dunstan Times*. Their rivalry meant that any opportunity to show a degree of inside knowledge or prescience on the Dunstan paper's part was seized on to show up their upstart new rival. Also, the *Dunstan Times*, with George Brodie as its editor printed its first copy in February, 1864,¹⁰⁶ replacing the *Dunstan News*: it was not around (and neither was its editor) in 1863 to be shown quartz samples. No reference to any report of Coates finding the quartz reef at Bendigo exists prior to 1866. If it had been written, it simply beggars belief to suggest that it would have been ignored, and neither the newspapermen nor the miners were that inept.

So what happened to the Bendigo Quartz Mining Company? Were they really the victims of an almighty swindle? With a gap in the records, no-one can be certain. But what remains to be examined is whether the conclusion other writers have drawn that Thomas Logan stole Otago's most profitable quartz mine of its true finders can be justified. The local press of the time was neither the political beast of today's dailies, nor an acquiescent, unbiased observer. Editors and correspondents would spring into print whenever they perceived an injustice was done or a wrong needed righting and it can be reasonably concluded then, that if Thomas Logan cheated the Dunedin Syndicate out of the wealth of the quartz mine at Bendigo, they would not have remained silent. Mining swindles on any scale were comparatively rare, and were never ignored when discovered. One such case involved Thomas Hall and Frederick Hoffman in 1877: Hall cancelled Hoffman's share in the Tipperary Quartz Company near Queenstown and fooled the local Warden into supporting his move.¹⁰⁷ The case ended in stalemate, due to the irrevocability of a Warden's Court decision, but the opprobrium vented by the paper, letter writers and other miners certainly showed that such a rort would not be accepted as a *fait accompli* and Hall was hounded out of town. Logan received no such treatment, nor was any accusation ever hinted at in the contemporary press.

¹⁰⁵ This includes retrospective pieces such as the one written in the *Dunstan Times* in 1874.

¹⁰⁶ Dunstan, *Otago Daily Times*, 10 February 1864, p. 6.

¹⁰⁷ Supreme Court – In Banco, *Otago Daily Times*, 26 September 1877, p. 5.

The investors in the Bendigo Quartz Company were organised by Connell and Moodie, a Dunedin-based firm of Surveyors and Sharebrokers who, as part of their advertising, declared that they ‘never held shares in any company whatever.’¹⁰⁸ They were also the promoters of the Canada Reef Quartz Mining Company,¹⁰⁹ the company that had prosecuted Surveyor Hardy for his actions there. They were not to be trifled with. Any injustice, failure to follow procedure or falsity in a transaction led to court cases and suits for damages, with the pages of the *Otago Daily Times* habitually containing examples of this. Would Connell and Moodie stay silent about the criminal swindling by Logan? They would not, once rich finds were declared, meekly accept the theft, especially given that if he got away with it they would appear impotent, ineffectual, incompetent or untrustworthy as investment organisers. No court case was forthcoming.

The local papers each had an opinion on the work of the 1866 Bendigo Quartz Company, and none was complimentary, but no-one was suggesting dishonesty. The *Southland Times* of November 11, 1869 states

a company of Dunedin capitalists applied for a lease of sixteen and a half acres in the name of the Bendigo Quartz Mining Company; a shaft was sunk on the reef, but unfortunately for them, the gold was not struck, and consequently, after the expenditure of a large sum of money, they abandoned it. The reef was next taken up by Messrs Logan, Garrett and party.¹¹⁰

The *Dunstan Times* was a harsher critic, saying ‘The [Dunedin Company] expended some small amount of money; but, like most people who know nothing about quartz mining, got tired and gave up just when they should have vigorously continued their operations.’¹¹¹

¹⁰⁸ Connell was the surveyor engaged to lay out the township of Wakefield in 1863 (Survey Plan, Otago Land District, Plan Number SO 15036, Land Information New Zealand), located near the site of the Rocky Point Hotel (now a pottery); Advertisements, *Otago Witness*, 22 August 1874; Advertisements, *Otago Daily Times*, 16 February 1866, p. 3. The full text of the advertisement states ‘Connell and Moodie, Stock and Sharebrokers and Mining Agents, are prepared to attend to the organisation and starting of MINING COMPANIES, which are ascertained to be of a thoroughly BONA FIDE CHARACTER, and to the transaction of all necessary business connected with the registration and working of the same, as regards brokerage and accountantship, ... From their known principle of never holding shares in any company whatever, parties placing shares in their hands for sale, or requesting information with a view of buying, may rely upon receiving disinterested advice’.

¹⁰⁹ Advertisements, *Otago Daily Times*, 26 February 1866, p. 1.

¹¹⁰ Dunstan Quartz Reefs, *Southland Times*, 15 November 1869, p. 3.

¹¹¹ The Quartz Reefs at Bendigo Gully, *Dunstan Times*, 17 December 1869.

The Cromwell correspondent to the *Otago Witness*, writing in 1874, said that ‘Messrs Connell and Moodie's party undoubtedly found the surface reef, but there was very little gold in it... and the project was abandoned. Had the parties only kept on a little longer, and sunk a shaft higher up towards the top of the hill, instead of on its side, they would have found the prize scarcely below the surface.’¹¹² This writer was at pains to note that the earlier party were looking on the side of the hill, and that Coates’ survey was north - south, which is telling, since the pattern of quartz reefs throughout Bendigo is east-west. But it remains that the company was working in an area that a respected surveyor had identified as worth pursuing, returned a healthy assay, held the considerable legal protection offered by a legal survey and had occasioned the expenditure of a lot of money. What could have gone wrong?

A hint at ineptitude is to be found in the *Dunstan Times* in April 1866: ‘their intention was to sink a shaft alongside the reef, then drive into it to test the value of the stone. However, that plan has been found to be impractical without timber, and consequently they are at present sinking dead through the reef.’¹¹³ A company which did not obtain timber for bracing was not a serious mining concern, but a prospector ineffectually scratching at the surface, unable to safely sink a shaft. Timber prevented cave-ins, allowed development in depth and indicates professionalism; not having timber only proves the opposite. The statement that they were attempting to ‘sink dead’ on the reef indicates that they were digging in the blind hope they would find the reef, not following indications of auriferous quartz.

Experienced quartz miners do not work this way. Perhaps these people were not the ‘experienced quartz men’ their employers thought they were, instead merely hopeful miners fortunate to have secured the financial backing of a syndicate of investors who were prepared to pay their wages as they played at prospecting. When the investors tired of spending money for no appreciable gain, they closed their wallets and ordered the men to cease work. This could not contrast more strongly with the long-term efforts of Thomas Logan, Jack Garrett, Brian Hebden and George Goodger.

The Historians

¹¹² Letters from the Gold Fields – Cromwell, *Otago Witness*, 22 August 1874, p. 6

¹¹³ DT April 7 1866.

James Crombie Parcell wrote a masterful local history at a time when a pencil, typewriter and a stack of *Dunstan Times* and *Cromwell Argus* newspapers were all the resources available to him. A combination of the limitations under which he worked and the incomplete information available to him led, in the case of Thomas Logan's quartz find at Bendigo, to Parcell inferring that a dishonest action had led to a massive gold find. Re-examining the evidence and surveying primary sources has meant that I must conclude otherwise.

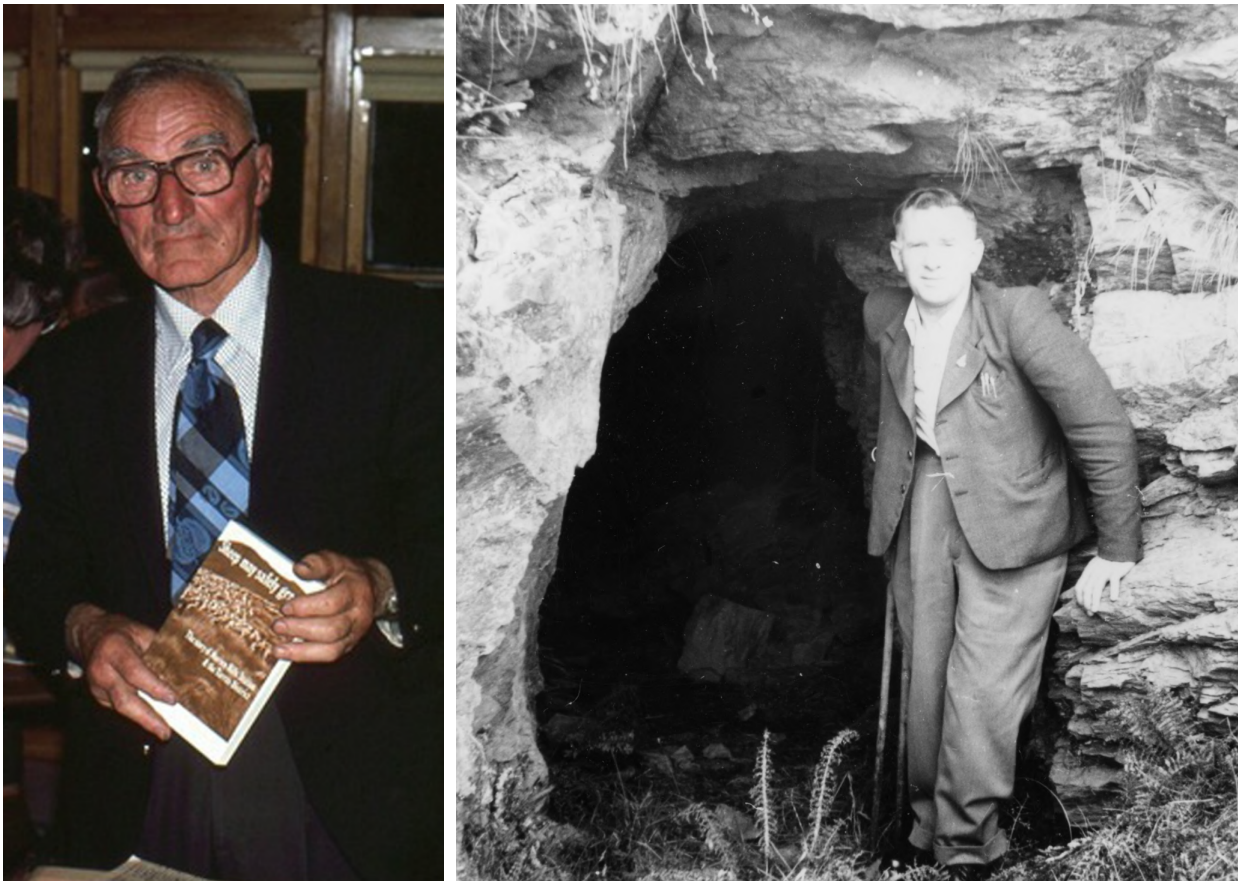


FIGURE 6.6 Left: Geoff Duff, 1978. Photograph courtesy Donald and Sally Young. Right: Ron Murray, at the Come in Time mine mouth, 1976. Photograph courtesy R. Murray Collection, used with permission.

As part of my research into Bendigo, I interviewed Geoff Duff and Ron Murray, two of the writers who repeat Parcell's assertion that Logan committed theft. Both passed away recently, but both encouraged me in this work, Duff saying he 'always felt the story did not seem consistent with the character of Logan, given that he was so enthusiastic to fund hospitals and schools' and Murray declaring 'if we have drawn the wrong conclusions, you must re-write our history and set the record straight'.¹¹⁴

¹¹⁴ I interviewed Geoffrey Duff at his home in 1999 and in 2002; Ron Murray talked on the telephone about my research frequently and we met in his home on four occasions, most recently in January, 2011.

Conclusion

For the most part, the serious quartz mine developments of the 1870s and later were the focus of corporate effort and finance, where miners worked for out-of-town capitalists who in turn funded the considerable development costs implicit in an underground mine. Some, like the first Otago quartz endeavour, the Shetland reef on the Waipori was set up by and funded through the efforts of a small group of miners, however subsequent mines, especially those in the Shotover and Arrow area, like the Scandinavian and the Criterion in 1866 – 7 began as small-scale developments and sold out to monied investors to properly develop their claim.

What sets the Cromwell company narrative apart from the others is its unique development through a couple of ill-financed, hard-working, determinably-focused miners who successfully combined skill in prospecting, careful husbandry of scarce monetary resources and the ability to develop the right financial partnerships to establish an extremely successful and enduring quartz operation.

Gold's a wonderful thing, what a change it can make,
 'Tis the great civiliser; it is, no mistake;
 It peoples the country, wherever it's found,
 There's certain to be a great rush to the ground.

Charles R. Thatcher¹¹⁵

¹¹⁵ Charles R. Thatcher, 'Gold' in Robert Hoskins, *Goldfield Balladeer*, (Auckland, Collins, 1977), p. 180.

Chapter 7 – Syndicated Mining and Engineering Innovation

Cataract flings its arrows on our path
 For us the land is matrix and destroyer
 James K. Baxter¹

Introduction

Mining went through a technological evolution as it developed over time and as the easily-accessible gold was exhausted. Gold pans gave way to cradles which yielded to long-tom sluice-boxes, then syndicates formed to build wing-dams at the sides of rivers, or develop paddocking and/or sluicing claims.

This evolutionary pattern of development was established in the Californian and Australian goldfields.² It was so well-known that contemporary newspapermen wrote of any persistence with pans as ‘primitive’ and evidence that the miners were ‘new chums’.³ This evolution saw areas first worked in the first rush to new fields revisited by the more experienced miners who arrived in early 1863, which saw places like Waitahuna and Gabriel’s Gully re-worked, as they and other older fields were developed in depth beyond the concretion layer labelled by the early miners the ‘Māori bottom’ to reach the rich strata underneath.⁴

In the Dunstan goldfield, the first syndicated claims appeared in March 1863, when the Nil Desperandum Mining Company combined nine claims to turn the Manuherikia River at a bend near the gorge. Their neighbours were another amalgamated group called the Manuherikia Mining Company, who constructed a large water race, partly by drilling through solid rock to get water onto their claim area, while the Grand Junction teams (three separate, but loosely-connected syndicates) developed ground on the Dunstan flats beside one of the

¹ James K. Baxter, ‘Poem in the Matukituki Valley’, *Collected Poems of James K. Baxter* (Ed.) J.E. Weir (Auckland, Oxford UP, 1979), pp. 86-87.

² ‘Turon’, *Sydney Empire*, 21 January, 1854, p.3; Gary G Hamilton, ‘The Structural Sources of Adventurism: the Case of the California Gold Rush’, *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 83, No. 6, 1978, p. 1487; Hearn, T.J. ‘Structural Change in the Otago Gold Mining Industry’, *New Zealand Geographer*, 1990 46, 2, pp.86-91.

³ ‘From Dunstan to the Wakatipu’, *Otago Daily Times*, 10 February 1863, p. 5.

⁴ ‘Mining Intelligence’, *Otago Daily Times*, 20 March 1863, p. 6; ‘Narrative of Current Events for Transmission to Melbourne’, *Otago Daily Times*, 9 March 1863, p. 5.

most famous of these enterprises, the Frenchman's claim.⁵ (A full narrative of the exemplar 'Frenchman's Syndicate' claim is provided in Appendix 9)

The Benefits of Amalgamated Claims

Each of these larger, amalgamated syndicate claims were looked upon as promising for several reasons. Firstly, they represented stability, and the beginnings of communities, urban areas, permanent dwellings and constancy in the merchant population. To indigent miners who held claims on promising ground, they offered the opportunity to combine with others to develop these with the risks being shared (and facilitated the sharing of expertise) and promised a future where the miners could invite their families in Victoria (largely, but also in California and Britain) to join them to make a future in their new home. Secondly, they allowed, through creative financing arrangements, for small-time merchants and resource-hungry miners to combine to work on a mining project, the outcome of which would become larger than the sum of its disparate parts.

The success of the first few enterprises meant that others were prompted to begin to collectivise, to look anew at the high river terraces of the Bendigo, Kawarau Gorge, Bannockburn, Upper Shotover, Skippers, Doctor's Point, Nokomai, Blacks No.3, Millers Flat and Dunstan Creek areas. The opportunities these represented would become the basis of the mining industry for decades, and these early-adopters of the financing systems and technology knew it.⁶ Syndicated groups of miners identified the need for, facilitated the development of, and encouraged the implementation of new mining technologies which saw methods to extract gold from stream-bank alluvium, deep lead gravels, dry terraces, quartz lodes and from riverbeds emerge. This evolution of mine engineering processes was a progressive, iterative development⁷ but sometimes a matrix of opportunity, engineering innovation, capital, proven gold reserves and a collective willingness to take risks came together to produce a remarkable project which, if successful, would represent a giant leap

⁵ 'Mining Intelligence', *Otago Daily Times*, 10 March 1863, p. 5.

⁶ 'The Lake Country', *Otago Daily Times*, 14 March 1863, p. 5.

⁷ J.H.M. Salmon, *A History of Gold Mining in New Zealand*, (Wellington, Government Printer, 1963), pp.102–3; C. Fahey, 'Labour and Trade Unionism in Victorian Goldmining', in *Gold, Forgotten Histories and Lost Objects of Australia*, ed. I. McCalman, A. Cook, A. Reeves, (Melbourne: Cambridge UP, 2001), pp. 68-70; G. Serle, *The Golden Age*, (Melbourne: Melbourne UP, 1963), pp.72-89; G. Blainey, *The Rush That Never Ended*, (Melbourne: Melbourne UP, 1963), pp. 46-58; J.C. Parcell, *Heart of the Desert*, (Dunedin: Otago Centennial Historical Publications, 1951), pp. 24-30 and others; see also M. Wright, *Reed Illustrated History of New Zealand*, (Auckland: Reed, 2004), pp. 166-168; J. Belich, *Making Peoples* (Auckland: Penguin, 1996), pp. 348-349.

forward, changing mining methodology forever. This happened when hydraulic elevation was invented in the 1880s to make dry terrace and deep lead alluvial mining possible and as river dredging technology evolved.

The Nil Desperandum

The chapters discussing the Rise and Shine men (Chapter five) and the Aurora claim (Chapter ten) highlight typical amalgamated endeavours, but this chapter examines a syndicate built around a radical idea, one that is unique in the history of not just the gold rush, but New Zealand's – and Australasia's – colonial history. Its grand folly, the riskiest of all enterprises of the rush, showcases the entrepreneurial drive of the unique men behind it. Instead of the usual amalgamated claim developing a paddocking area or a sluice operation stripping an Otago hillside, this development was centred on the construction of a pair of very large dams. This was built, not with engineers, steam power and professional builders, but built by hand, by miners and storekeepers acting as self-taught engineers. It was built on the Molyneux⁸ (Clutha), in the search for gold.

The Nil Desperandum Dam enterprise in Central Otago's Upper Clutha Valley, 1864-66 began just two years after the Dunstan goldfield was declared, two decades ahead of the emergence of effective river dredging technology and a century before the Roxburgh hydro-electric dam on the Clutha was built. It was a project ahead of its time; built five years before the first steam engine was used in the province and in an era when roads were little more than muddy cart tracks scraped out of the harsh Otago terrain, it was constructed using the most rudimentary of tools. The engineering challenges it met and nearly bettered were sufficiently daunting that the project would cause modern large-scale contractors to pause. It was creatively financed and organised as a loose shareholding collective without a company hierarchical structure and as such, the enterprise was remarkable for what it nearly achieved.

Because it failed, the story of the Nil Desperandum's company organisation, dam construction and near-success has been largely forgotten, and the few local histories that mention it characterise it a quixotic failure and little more. A closer look reveals that the Nil

⁸ The river was called the Matau-Au by Maori; Captain James Cook named the harbour at Waikawa Bay Molyneux Harbour and early settlers named the river the Molyneux. In 1846 it was named the Clutha after the Gaelic name Cluaidh (Clyde), but the name Molyneux persisted for the Upper Clutha (including the area where this enterprise was set) above its junction with the Kawarau until the 1890s.

Desperandum deserves to be commemorated for occupying a unique place in New Zealand's engineering and gold-mining history.⁹

A unique topography

Miners who came from California to New South Wales and Victoria, and eventually Gabriel's Gully, applied their experience to work the distinctive, yet similar landscape in each locale to win the gold they sought.¹⁰ But when they came to Central Otago, they discovered an entirely different topography, climate and landscape from anything they had previously encountered. As one bewildered miner wrote:

Imagine a rapid, savage looking River, racing over a bed of rocks, with the rocks for banks, and on each side precipitous mountains all faced with ironstone, barely leaving room for the most cautious step to pass at their feet I have never beheld more savage scenery, and other men who have hitherto been accustomed to the flats and creeks of Australia and Tuapeka appear bewildered at their new diggings and the general cry is – "why, you cannot get a shovel full of dirt anywhere off a rock, let alone gold." As Hartley said, "Victorian miners would never think of looking at the precious metal in such places."¹¹

The unfamiliar landscape – and the rewards it concealed - impelled miners to confront their new situation and adapt as they sought solutions:

‘There is one singular peculiarity in the character of the gold obtained on the edge of the river, that is somewhat puzzling. In one and the same place you will find gold as fine as dust, and as rough as buckshot. This peculiarity is not confined to the gold obtained from one portion of the Molyneux, but characterises it.’¹²

Such geological and gold-depositional conundrums forced innovation and miners who were flexible and creative enough to adjust their approach found that it was worth the effort, because some reported spectacular results: ‘The result is wonderful, even to those who can draw on the last 10 years experience of gold mining in Victoria and California. No new field, we believe, has ever turned out so much gold in so short a time after its discovery, ... for a distance of 30 miles along the river banks gold has been found, not only in payable, but highly remunerative quantities.’¹³ In December further reports emerged that there were areas

⁹ C. Bell, *Inventing New Zealand – Everyday Myths of Pakeha Identity*, (Auckland: Penguin, 1996), pp. 183-4; J. Phillips, T. Hearn, *Settlers – New Zealand Immigrants from England Ireland and Scotland, 1800 – 1945*, (Auckland: Auckland UP, 2008) p. 191.

¹⁰ ‘The Goldfields’, *Otago Daily Times*, 16 February 1864, p.5.

¹¹ ‘Dunstan’, *Otago Daily Times*, 1 September 1862, p.5.

¹² ‘Water Works on Gold Fields’, *Otago Daily Times*, 9 September 1862, p.5.

¹³ ‘Arrival of the Escort’, *Otago Daily Times*, 1 November 1862, p. 4.

of the Central Otago rush to rival the famed ‘jeweller’s shops’ of Ballarat and Bendigo’s Golden Gully, with reports from miners at Conroy’s Gully ‘getting, in a few days, pounds weight of gold ... [and] 10, 20 and even 50lbs, ...[for those] who have happened to hit on the richest spots’¹⁴ and headlines announcing finds in the Shotover River that eclipsed even these, boasting that ‘miners are earning in a few days amounts as large as Hartley and Riley [discoverers of the Central Otago field who found 87 pounds] did in months’¹⁵

The impetus to innovation was a perpetual driver, because new and better techniques and engineering meant more gold recovered, or that claims could be developed where previously it was impossible.¹⁶

Quartz reef point

In early 1863, at Quartz Reef Point sluicing replaced small-scale alluvial work when it became obvious that the widely-dispersed, dust-like gold could be best extracted with large-scale hydraulic operations working the alluvium and ancient lateral moraines which cloaked the slopes above the Clutha.¹⁷ However, the miners developing the hydraulic sluicing claims knew they were dealing with the end result of geological processes that deposited the gold. It was obvious that however rich their ground was, gold eroding down the slopes into the bed of the Clutha below would have accumulated in rich drifts of the sort made famous at Hartley’s beach in 1862 when the Dunstan rush began.¹⁸ Further, they knew that where the river was bifurcated by low-lying gravel islands, the change in flow velocity would create even richer deposits.¹⁹

Riverbed deposits would be mined when dredging eventually developed and matured, but in 1864 the technology was not just in its infancy, but was primitive, amateur and hopeful in the extreme. The earliest innovators like Knight, McKinnon and Company developed ‘spoon’ dredges to operate in the shallows off Clyde in June of 1864,²⁰ and up to five of these rudimentary craft operated for better-than-wages returns to the shareholders and miners

¹⁴ ‘New Zealand Provinces, Otago’, *Nelson Examiner and New Zealand Chronicle*, 3 December 1862, p. 2.

¹⁵ ‘The Dunstan’, *Otago Witness*, 27 December 1862, p. 2.

¹⁶ ‘The Goldfields’, *Otago Daily Times*, 16 February 1864, p.5; ‘Goldfields Summary’, 18 June 1864, p. 9; ‘Dunstan’, 1 September 1869, p. 5; and others.

¹⁷ ‘Warden’s Reports’, *Otago Witness*, 25 June 1864, p. 11.

¹⁸ ‘The Dunstan Diggings’, *Otago Daily Times*, 6 September 1862, p.5; ‘Warden’s Reports’, *Otago Witness*, 25 June 1864, p. 11.

¹⁹ J. Park, ‘Gold Deposits in Otago’, *The New Zealand Mines Record*, XI., 11, 16 June 1908; T.J. Hearn and R.P. Hargraves, *The Speculators’ Dream*, (Dunedin, Allied press Ltd, 1985), p.1.

²⁰ ‘Dunstan’, *Otago Daily Times*, 6 June 1864, p.5; ‘Dunstan’, 11 July 1864, p.5.

through to the middle of 1867.²¹ But their effectiveness was doomed as the vast sluicing enterprises of Sandy Point, Lowburn, Bannockburn, Earnsleugh, Kawarau Gorge and St Bathans escalated the scale of their work and loaded the Clutha's streambed metres of tailings and sludge.²² It was not until the mid-1870s that Kincaid and MacQueen would build the first bucket line dredge to replace the spoon dredges and a decade after that when the huge machines of Sew Hoy, the Electric Company and others appeared with the ability to dredge the deepest parts of swift Otago rivers,²³ and only in the late 1890s would they be advanced enough to tackle the swift-flowing Clutha at Quartz Reef Point and remove the tailings overburden of the rivers.

Given the absence of adequate technology to dredge the riverbed at Quartz Reef Point, the miners and merchants of the Nil Desperandum syndicate conceived a pioneering, innovative, madcap engineering plan to mine the golden riches in their riverside claim.

Taking on the Clutha – the syndicate is formed

In 1864, the boosters of the goldfields town of Cromwell were worried by the rich new goldfields in Marlborough and on the West Coast.²⁴ They knew that the newly-built town that they had invested time and money developing from a bare river junction in September 1862 could falter if the notoriously mobile miners were attracted away, so ideas for larger-scale mining development appealed. This concern prompted these merchants to become financial backers of schemes like sluicing, water races, quartz mines and spoon dredges. In April 1864, the *Otago Witness*'s Kawarau correspondent reported whispers that local businessmen were considering options to mine the Clutha at Quartz Reef Point.²⁵ Nothing developed, but their discussions started local miners Matthew Thomson, Ellis Thomas, B. Armitage, David Jolly and William Dobby thinking, and by August, 1864 they had a workable plan in place.

They would dam the Clutha. They organised local business owners to work with them as financial shareholders. The men who signed on to be part of this scheme were the pioneer merchants and most prominent businessmen of Cromwell. George Wellington Goodger (The Junction Commercial Hotel) and Pat Kelly (The Golden Age Hotel) were two of the first to

²¹ R.S.M. Sinclair, *Kawarau Gold*, (Dunedin: Whitcombe and Tombs, 1962), p.15.

²² 'Mining', *Dunstan Times*, 11 September 1868, p.3; P. Galvin (Ed.) *The New Zealand Mining Handbook*, (Wellington, New Zealand Government Printer, 1906), pp. 35-36.

²³ Sinclair, *Kawarau*, pp. 16-19; Hearn and Hargreaves, *Speculators*, pp. 8-14; R. Gilkison, *Early Days in Central Otago*, (Dunedin: Otago Daily Times Press, 1930), pp. 150-153.

²⁴ 'The Goldfields of Otago', *Otago Witness*, 14 October 1865, p. 6.

²⁵ 'News of the Week', *Otago Witness*, 23 April, 1864, p. 14

open establishments at the town; John MacDonald was the builder responsible for many of the first buildings there and James Wilson was the first lawyer and accountant.

The system of a dichotomised shareholder syndicate divided into ‘financial’ and ‘working’ shareholders was one that would be employed at many several mining enterprises in Central Otago²⁶ over the following decades, and was patterned on successful developments at the Victorian fields of the 1850s. It had the advantage of not necessarily requiring large amounts of capital and allowed individual miners who had found and secured promising claim ground and who therefore held the rights to mine it, but who lacked the financial resources to adequately develop it, to build value in a large-scale enterprise by their own ‘sweat equity’. They brought mining expertise, their ownership of a potentially rich claim and a willingness to endure the harshness that was mining in Central Otago to the concern; the financiers brought their money but avoided the need to wield picks and shovels or to stand in the frigid waters of the Clutha. This model was elegant in its simplicity: the ‘financial’ shareholders worked at their businesses or trade whilst contributing the equivalent of a workman’s wages to the company each week; the ‘working’ shareholders drew a weekly wage from the company and did the physical work of mining or building.

Damming the Clutha River - even half of its main flow - is no small feat now and it was a huge task then. With an annual mean average flow above its confluence with the Kawarau averaging 283 cubic metres per second, an average spring melt flow exceeding 362 m³/s and floods regularly exceeding 1560 m³/s, it is not a river to be taken lightly (see FIGURE 7.1 for a detailed map of the project location, and FIGURE 7.2 for a contextual location map).²⁷

The proposed syndicate was not the only enterprise working near the spot they had in mind. Several other groups were at Quartz Reef Point,²⁸ the closest being a syndicate organised by Dr Corse²⁹ who launched an overshot wheel there in early August, 1864.³⁰ The

²⁶ ‘Cromwell’, *Otago Daily Times*, 29 September 1865, p. 5.

²⁷ D.L. Murray, ‘Regional Hydrology of the Clutha River’, *Journal of Hydrology (NZ)*, vol 14 2 1975, p. 85.

²⁸ ‘Dunstan’, *Otago Daily Times*, 24 August 1864, p.5.

²⁹ Dr Corse was a doctor who held an American Diploma from the Reformed Medical Society of America, New York in 1852 (see R.V. Fulton, *Medical practice in Otago and Southland in the early days : a description of the manner of life, trials, and difficulties of some of the pioneer doctors, of the places in which, and of the people among whom, they laboured*, Dunedin, 1922, pp.262-3). The Reformed Medical Society practiced a mixture of ‘regular’ and ‘eclectic’ medicine (what would now be called ‘alternative’ medicine, including the use of natural, herbal, and even homeopathic medicines). They were followers of the Thompson system for medicine (The Thomsonians were radical populists that espoused the rude concept that common sense and a little learning was a better doctor than professionals seemingly addicted to bloodletting, purging with heavy metals, and heroic cleanses. (Michael Moore, editor of the reprint of Benjamin Colby Milford, *A Guide to Health*, N.H., 1846 -

Corse syndicate, fresh from success developing claims in the Kawarau gorge to the west of Cromwell,³¹ replicated the successful method they had used previously, building ‘wing dams’ (curved cofferdams built out into the flow of the river and pumped dry with Californian pumps driven by manpower or a water wheel) along the banks of the river.³² The gravel laid bare within these dams was washed through sluice boxes, carrying the tailings into the river.³³ One of Dr Corse’s shareholders was George Wellington Goodger, who obviously needed to make a call on which of the two enterprises he could continue to back. That choice was not forced on him yet, however.

The sight of the Corse and Company’s miners working their claim with obvious success was all the men of the new ‘Thomson and Co.’ syndicate needed to remind them of the potential rewards for completing their project.³⁴ To add additional good luck to their endeavours, they adopted the name made famous in several locations on the Victorian goldfields and more recently in the Manuherikia:³⁵ the Nil Desperandum.³⁶

With a considerable amount of work lifting rock, building tramways and general construction ahead of them, the Nil Desperandum syndicate used some of their financial resources to purchase George Goodger’s undershot wheel³⁷ which he had been using at another riverside claim nearby.³⁸ They used this to drive their derrick to lift large rocks and planned to use it to power their pumps once both dams were complete. But before these sorts

<http://www.swsbn.com/ManualsOther/Colby-6.txt>) although they were taught such things as dissection and bone-setting, plus some pharmacology.(information from Felter, H.W., Historical Sketch of the Eclectic Medical Institute, Cincinnati. - article published in the “Skull,” the first annual publication of the student-body of the Eclectic Medical College, 1911. URL: <http://www.swsbn.com/EclecticMed/Eclectic BioInstitute.pdf>). Corse ran several gold mining syndicates until the population and his medical practice and dispensary grew to allow his full attention (see N. Kennedy and R. Murray, Early Pioneers in the Cromwell Area 1863-1880, (Cromwell: Cromwell Historical Society, 1999), pp. 45-6).

³⁰ ‘Dunstan’, *Otago Daily Times*, 17 August, 1864, p.6.

³¹ ‘Arrival of the Escort’, *Otago Witness*, 30 July 1864, p.13.

³² ‘Dunstan’, *Otago Daily Times*, 24 August 1864, p.5.

³³ ‘Cromwell’, *Otago Witness*, 19 May, 1866, p.7.

³⁴ Thompson and Party, Application to divert Molyneux River at Quartz Reef Point, 28 September, 1864, Clyde Warden’s Court Applications, Archives New Zealand Dunedin Office, ABBO Acc D98 7299.

³⁵ ‘Minng’, *The Dunstan News*, 6 March, 1863, p.2.

³⁶ The name was as famous as it was ubiquitous: the *Nil Desperandum* was a brig registered in Newcastle, England carrying coal around Australasia (*Daily Southern Cross*, 2 August 1867, p.7), an alluvial claim at Manorburn (*Otago Daily Times*, 8 November 1864, p.4); a quartz claim at the Nevis (*Bruce Herald*, 13 April 1865, p.9); a water race from Nokomai Creek to the spur of Spring Hill (*Otago Daily Times*, 29 October 1873, p.5), a sluicing claim at Moonlight, Wakatip (*Otago Daily Times*, 30 October 1873, p.7), a quartz company at Waipori (*Otago Daily Times*, 17 June 1881, p.2), one of the first dredges to operate on the Shotover River (*Otago Daily Times*, 28 July 1870, p.2) and another dredge operated near Chatto Creek (*Otago Daily Times*, 4 February 1899, p.6). *Nil Desperandum* quartz companies were at Thames, Coromandel (*Daily Southern Cross*, 3 October 1867, p.3) and Inangahua, Reefton (*Otago Daily Times*, 27 July 1882, p.2).

³⁷ ‘Pioneer’, *Cromwell Argus*, 17 August 1908, p.2.

³⁸ ‘Dunstan’, *Otago Daily Times*, 24 August 1864, p.5.

of demands would be made on it, the miners used its power to pump out new wing dams which acted as cofferdams to allow the construction of foundations for the buttresses to anchor each end of the main dam. An undershot wheel, while not as efficient as other designs, had the advantage of operating from emplacement in the flow of a stream, without requiring the fall of water (and the consequent requirement to source, finance and cut water races) which an overshot wheel needed. The Nil Desperandum's wheel operated via a flood channel cut into the banks of the Clutha, and was launched – with appropriate fanfare – by the newest addition to the financial shareholders, Cromwell storekeeper John Hetherington.³⁹ Preparations and ceremonials complete, they began construction of the main upstream crib-weir cofferdam.⁴⁰ Two would be necessary, one at each end of Knobby Island. As the work expanded, at some point in September 1864 the initial group of ten shareholders expanded to twenty with five more each of the workers and financial men.⁴¹

In 1908, forty years after these events, Cromwell Storekeeper David Jolly – who, in 1864 was a 22 year-old miner⁴², not businessman – recorded his narrative of the project which was published in both the *Cromwell Argus* and the *New Zealand Mines Record*.⁴³ He says that the financial shareholders were not merely passive observers of the efforts of their 'working' associates, recording how they divided into three work groups: millers to fell timber in the Makarora forests, quarrymen to blast out rock from Quartz Reef Point for the crib fill, and builders to construct timber cribs and to heft the quarried stone into place. The quarrymen also used the timber to construct a tramway to move quarried stone to the work site. Jolly details his own hair-raising adventures as he attempted – without the necessary knowledge, experience or, it seems from his narrative, ability – to pilot rafts of sawn timber 35 miles from Makarora at the head of Lake Wanaka down to Quartz Reef Point as part of his

³⁹ 'Dunstan - Mining', *Otago Daily Times*, 24 August 1864, p.6; Hetherington christened it 'I will if I can' as he smashed a bottle of champagne against its timbers.

⁴⁰ This is a cofferdam, not a dam or breakwater. According to retired Tasmanian engineer Dr Keith Preston "'Dam" was used as an all-encompassing term in the mid-19th century, particularly in the press. A wider range of terms has developed since and now a 'dam' is limited to a structure that incorporates a spillway for the controlled release of overflows.' (Pers. Comm., 6 December 2012). Since this was a structure designed to allow the streambed to be pumped dry, it is a cofferdam. The fact that it was built using timber crib construction mimics the cellular design used by modern cofferdam builders (see F. Neghabat and R.M. Stark, A Cofferdam Design Optimization, *Mathematical Programming*, 1972, 3, pp. 263 – 264; C.A. Fetzer, Earth and Rock Fill Cofferdams, in (Ed.) R.B. Jansen, *Advanced Dam Engineering for Design Construction and Rehabilitation*, Wiley (New York, Van Nostrand Reinhold, 1988), pp. 233 – 238).

⁴¹ 'Arrival of the Escort', *Otago Witness*, 8 October 1864, p.13. Application for water right, 4 April 1865, Clyde Warden's Court Applications: Archives NZ Dunedin Office ABBO AccD98 7301.

⁴² *The Cyclopaedia of New Zealand* [Vol. 4, Otago & Southland Provincial Districts] (Christchurch: The Cyclopaedia Company, 1905), p. 724.

⁴³ 'Early Gold Discoveries in Otago "by "Pioneer"', *New Zealand Mines Record*, 4, November 16 (1908), pp. 156-7.

contribution to the work of the syndicate. After one memorable three day trip, which included a night spent in the company of George Goodger, perched on a rock in the middle of a wild Clutha cataract with half a stranded timber raft, followed by a near-drowning getting the timber to Quartz Reef Point, they opted to pay contractors like George Magnus Hassing to bring crib timbers down.⁴⁴

In October, 1864, when the project began to progress, some shareholders became worried by the scale of operations and the long-term obligation and five opted to leave: George Goodger, Patrick Kelly, John Hetherington, William Dobby and Ben Armitage all left, with their shareholding filled by John Davies, William Edwards, Evan Roberts, Owen Pearce and Griffith James.⁴⁵ Goodger, Kelly and Hetherington remained heavily involved in various mining operations in the Cromwell region, with Goodger working with two sluicing syndicates on Hartley Beach⁴⁶ and Kelly, who still had valuable investments in the Jersey Reef at Inglewood in Victoria,⁴⁷ pursued quartz prospecting around the Carrick and continued sluicing operations at Duffer Point,⁴⁸ near Cromwell. One of the new men, Evan Roberts, took over duties as the company secretary in addition to his work as a quarryman.

This was not the first – or the last – reorganisation of the personnel involved in the Nil Desperandum Company. David Jolly recalled the involvement of Welshmen from Cambrians (near St Bathans) being the predominant group when it came to the ‘practical’ men of the company.⁴⁹ However the list which was appended to a water race application in April 1865 suggests that either his memory was faulty, or this line-up changed over time. Certainly by mid-June, Jolly became the company secretary as the administrative load increased. Notable among the new names is Brian Hebden, a Yorkshire-born miner and charcoal maker who would achieve fame as one of the original entrepreneurs of the Cromwell Company quartz mine at Bendigo in 1869.

⁴⁴ ‘Early Gold Discoveries in Otago ‘by “Pioneer”’, *Cromwell Argus*, 17 August 1908, p. 3; G.M., Hassing, *Pages from the Memory Log of G.M. Hassing*, (Invercargill: Southland Times, 1930), pp. 38-40.

⁴⁵ Memo to Goldfields Warden advising of share transfer, 9 October 1864, Clyde Transfers: Archives NZ Dunedin Office ABBO AccD98 7416.

⁴⁶ Registration of Water right on Hartley Beach in the name of G.W. Goodger and Daniel McMonnagh, 20 September 1864, Clyde Transfers: Archives NZ Dunedin Office ABBO AccD98 7416.

⁴⁷ ‘The Dunstan’, *Otago Daily Times*, 11 November 1863, p.9.

⁴⁸ ‘Mining’, *Dunstan Times*, 24 May, 1867, p.3.

⁴⁹ ‘Pioneer’, *New Zealand Mines Record*, 4, November 16 (1908), p.156.

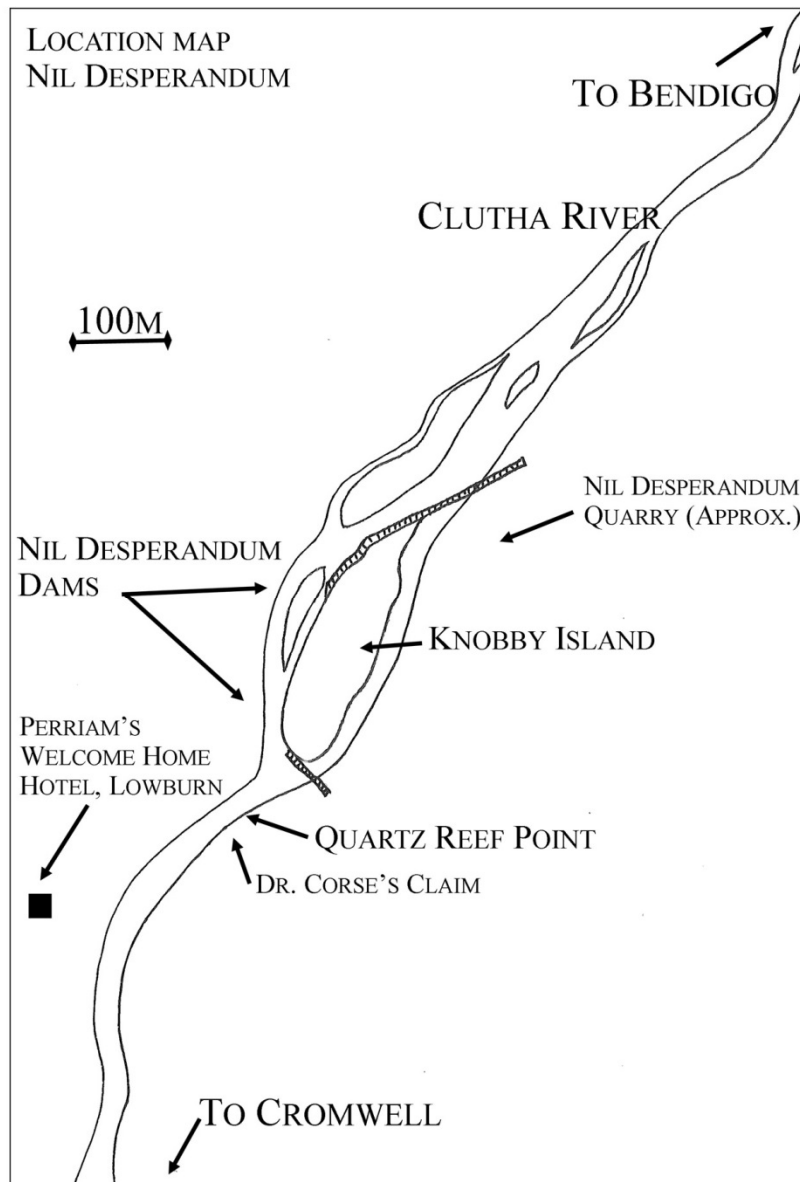


FIGURE 7.1 Location Map, Quartz Reef Point, 1864, based on 'Field Sketch, Wakefield District, November 1866', by Francis Howden, District Surveyor, Land Information New Zealand File: Mining Survey 8630.

The cofferdam that emerged from the foundations was built at a 45° angle to the eastern bank of the Clutha. This had the advantage of working with the flow of the river, but it created problems later in the build. Their design followed the construction system which in Austrasia was called the 'American crib method'. Hubert Chanson notes that its engineering lineage is much older than the name would suggest, with Slovenia's Kobilja Dam built in 1586 and Russia's Kamenskii Dam finished in about 1730 using wooden cribs.⁵⁰ Crib dams

⁵⁰ H. Chanson, 'Historical Development of Stepped Cascades for the Dissipation of Hydraulic Energy', *Transactions of the Newcomen Society*, 71 (2000) 2: pp. 306-7. See also H. Chanson, 'Crib Weirs in

were built across North America in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, such as the Fairmont Dam on the Schuylkill River in Pennsylvania⁵¹ (1819), Hogs Back Dam in Ontario⁵² (1829), Edwards Dam in Maine⁵³ (1837), Tulloch Mill Dam in California⁵⁴ (1854) and in Queensland Australia, the Eastern spillway of the Malmsbury Dam (1870), Gold Creek Dam (1890) and the Goulburn Weir (1891) were also built using this method.⁵⁵ Chanson identified several crib dams and weirs in the early years of American, Australian and New Zealand settlement and describes their utility as relatively easily-built robust, low-cost structures appropriate to colonial economies.⁵⁶

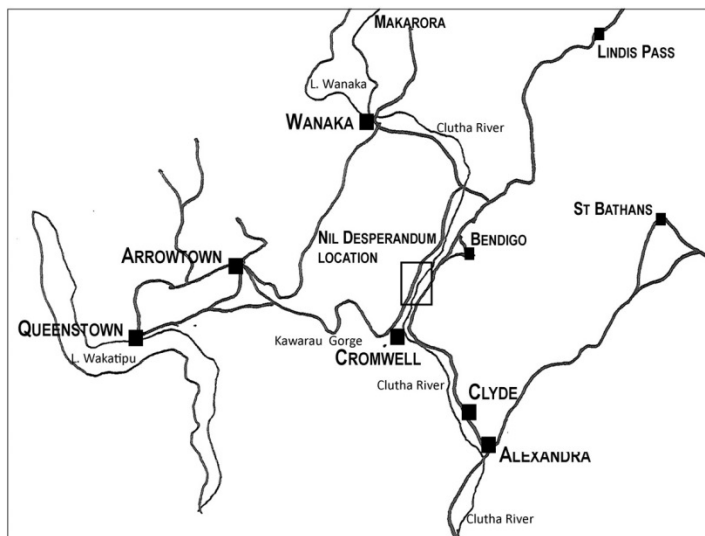


FIGURE 7.2 Location.

Building by this ‘American crib system’ (see FIGURES 7.3 and 7.4 for a plan of how these are built) involved the construction of a series of heavy frames made from dressed logs, or ‘cribs’ which were emplaced in layers to the height of the planned cofferdam, then filled with rock, buttressed by a sloping rubble structure of loose rocks and faced with flat stones

Queensland, Australia: Some Heritage with a Solid Operational Record’, *Royal Historical Society of Queensland Journal*, 18 3: 115-129; M. Chrimes, ‘Concrete Foundations and Substructures: a Historical View’ in (Eds.) R.J.M. Sutherland, D. Humm, M. Chrimes, *Historic Concrete: Background to Appraisal* (Reston: Thomas Telford Books, 2001), p. 151.

⁵¹ Structurae Website, (International Database and Gallery of Structures), Fairmont Dam, <http://en.structurae.de/structures/data/index.cfm?id=s0003421>, Accessed 7 March, 2012.

⁵² Rideau Canal World Heritage Site, Tales of the Rideau, K.W. Watson, ‘Washed Away – The Story of the Building of the Hogs Back Dam’, <http://www.rideau-info.com/canal/tales/hogsback-dam.html> Accessed 23 March, 2012.

⁵³ Structurae Website, Edwards Dam, <http://en.structurae.de/structures/data/index.cfm?id=s0001069>, Accessed 7 March, 2012.

⁵⁴ Structurae Website, Tulloch Mill Crib Dam, <http://en.structurae.de/structures/data/index.cfm?id=s0011650>, Accessed 7 March, 2012.

⁵⁵ H. Chanson, Crib Weirs in Queensland, Australia Some Heritage Structures with a Solid Operational Record, *Journal of the Royal Historical Society of Queensland*, 18 3, 2002, p. 115.

⁵⁶ H. Chanson, *Hydraulics of Stepped Chutes and Spillways*, (Rotterdam: Balkema, 2002), pp. 244-5; Structurae Website, (International Database and Gallery of Structures), Cunningham Weir, <http://en.structurae.de/structures/data/index.cfm?id=s0000863>, Accessed 16 March, 2012.

for erosion protection. The cofferdam's length was advanced by new frames being added into the stream, constructed from each end simultaneously by the simple expedient of building a frame, lowering it into the stream, filling it with quarried stone and extending the tramway onto the newly-filled crib to repeat the process, with a larger frame closing the gap to complete the structure. The advantage of this technique is its relative low cost – provided adequate supplies of timber can be secured – plus its non-reliance on concrete, reinforcing or (to an extent) technical skill. Its simplicity was ideal for the raw, new society of the Dunstan goldfield with its farrago of miner ethnicities, professional backgrounds and experience.

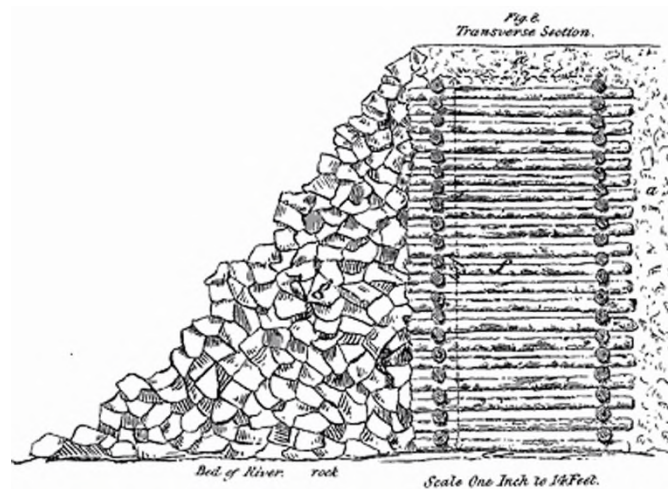


FIGURE 7.3 American Crib dam design: Illustration of Construction of Crib Dam: W. Denison, Lieut., 'Rideau Dams', in *Papers on Subjects Connected with the Duties of the Corps of Royal Engineers*, London, vol. 2, 1838, pp.114-121

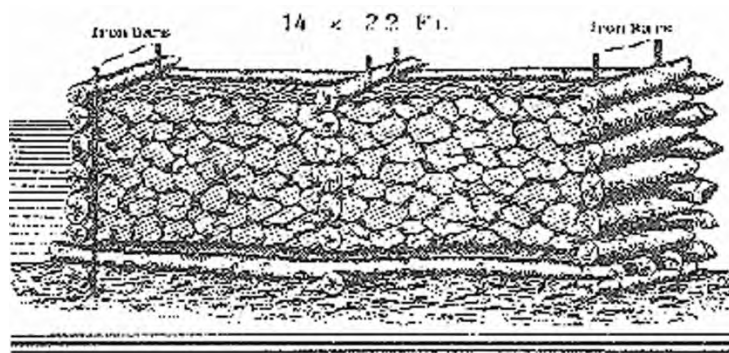


FIGURE 7.4 'Crib of Stone and Brick': Frome, E.C., Lieut., 'Account of the Causes which led to the Construction of the Rideau Canal, connecting the Waters of Lake Ontario and the Ottawa; the Nature of the Communication prior to 1827; and a Description of the Works by means of which it is converted into a Steam-boat Navigation', in *Papers on Subjects Connected with the Duties of the Corps of Royal Engineers*, London, vol. 1, 1837, pp.73-102.

Knowing the dangers of the Clutha's regular spring floods, the Nil Desperandum men decided to build in some additional resilience in the form of an additional buttress of the same thickness as the upstream cofferdam, to produce a structure 270 metres long. The lower

‘dam’ was a much simpler rockfill embankment, since it was away from the direct pressure of the current and would be constructed at the southern-most part of the claim and at right-angles to the flow of water.

The gap to be bridged by the first cofferdam was about 330 feet (100m), but they had to build a much longer structure than that. Given that it was built at an angle to the flow of 45 degrees, the actual length across the water was 520 feet (160m)⁵⁷ which, when the abutments built on the river bank and on Knobby Island were added, made the whole project 720 feet (220m) long. But that was not all: Jolly reported that as the breakwater was built, the increased flow immediately eroded the mounded gravel of Knobby Island, necessitating an extension of the dam around the northern end and western side of the island to produce a final length of 888 feet (270m)⁵⁸ for the upper cofferdam.

There are a number of aspects of the design which would prompt concern in modern planners, not least the failure to build in the sort of flood spillways and overflow provision that are standard features of dam design today⁵⁹. However it must be remembered that the syndicate expected that their structure would only need to stand for one or two years to allow their ground to be worked and that flood provision in the form of spillways would work against their principle aim, that the area between the cofferdams be pumped dry. The Nil Desperandum was intended to be an unsophisticated breakwater which held back and diverted the waters of the Clutha around the end of an island that had previously bifurcated the flow, keeping the waters at bay just long enough to effect their mining aims.

Throughout the first half of 1865, the *Dunstan Times*, *Otago Daily Times* and *Otago Witness* sent correspondents to report on the work, while the local goldfields warden Vincent Pyke wrote about their efforts in his regular official correspondence. As it became apparent just how large the Nil Desperandum scheme was, these reports, both official and observer, became increasingly suffused with awe and admiration, expressing disbelief at the scale of the project, the incredible hard work the men put into the construction, and the rapidity with which the structure was built.

⁵⁷ Based on trigonometric calculation to confirm the reported length of the dam.

⁵⁸ ‘News of the Week’, *Otago Witness*, 12 August 1865, p.11; ‘Pioneer’, *Cromwell Argus*, 17 August 1908, p.2.

⁵⁹ See *Design of Small Dams*, a Water Resources Technical Publication, United States Department of the Interior, Bureau of Reclamation, third edition, 1987, pp.391-2; *Dam Safety Guidelines, Part Two: Guidelines for the Building of Minimal Hazard Dams*, Auckland regional Council, p.3. Accessed 31 March, 2012. <http://www.arc.govt.nz/albany/fms/main/Documents/Plans/Technical%20publications/101-150/TP109%20Dam%20safety%20guidelines%20Part%202.pdf>.

In addition to the tramway, an anchor island was built mid-stream, on which a series of ropes and pulleys were mounted to create a self-acting inclined ropeway. This involved a system whereby the motive force to get a load of stone across to the island was provided (at least in part) by the weight and momentum of the returning empty skip.⁶⁰ This aided the filling of the cribs, but since the foundation boulders were 15cwt to 30cwt⁶¹ (750 to 1500 kg), which is beyond the capacity of simple ropeways of the time, these were emplaced using the tramway to form the base on which the dam was built. In 1905, the Tamaiti Dam on the Tuapeka River was built to exactly the same design. The use of a tramway, timber ‘cribs’, gravel in-fill and (largely) manpower rather than mechanised construction copies the Nil Desperandum methodology, and may be seen in FIGURES 7.5 and 7.6.

By May, 1865 the first breakwater was edging 550 feet (165m) out into the river,⁶² but no sooner had this been announced the Clutha showed a glimpse of its power, washing away 30 feet of its length in a minor flood.⁶³ This gave some hint of a problem that Jolly admitted nearly defeated their enterprise: as the gap between the island and the abutment extending from the end of the cofferdam narrowed, the increased rate of flow made blocking the gap using the methodology they had employed to that point impossible. With the river’s water gushing through the narrowed chute, they first tried to use boulders which formed the foundations, but instead succeeded in causing the entire island abutment to be washed away. This was rebuilt and the facing of the island with stone was completed, just in time for another flood to wipe out another 150 feet (50m) of the dam,⁶⁴ showing that a creative solution was required.

The Nil Desperandum, faced with a newly-widened gap between the island abutment and the end of their breakwater, deemed the mission of moving larger boulders across the gap by boat too dangerous. They first re-built the lost section, then faced the roaring chute anew. Their solution was borne of desperation, but is an elegantly simple answer to what appeared an impossible task. They first built a new heavy log crib frame with larger gaps between the layers and carefully lowered it into place to span the gap.

⁶⁰ The empty vessel was emplaced to use the force of the current to counterbalance the force exerted by the weight of the full boat. See The Industrial Heritage of England, Shropshire Tub Boat Canals <http://www.pittdixon.go-plus.net/tub-boat-canals/tub-boat-canals.htm> (includes a discussion of Telford’s design of similar structures Accessed 31 March, 2012.).

⁶¹ ‘News of the Week’, *Otago Witness*, 12 August 1865, p.11.

⁶² ‘Dunstan’, *Otago Daily Times*, 15 May 1865, p.5.

⁶³ ‘News of the Week’, *Otago Daily Times*, 8 June 1864, p.4.

⁶⁴ ‘Quartz Reef Point’, *Otago Daily Times*, 10 August 1865, p. 7.

Once this was anchored in place, they procured 200 green hides (according to Jolly, ‘all the spare bullock hides in the country, at 10s per hide’⁶⁵) which they sewed into large bags. These they filled with gravel and sand and emplaced in a ‘criss-cross’ pattern into the crib, working from each end. Supporting this tenuous structure with hastily-placed timber baulks and boulders from a loosely-laid temporary tramway extension, they had to fight the tremendous force of the river which was concentrated on the narrow gaps between the crib ends and the newly emplaced crib, which scoured out deep channels.⁶⁶ Their redoubled efforts, plus the use of more rocks and a series of timber lattice frames dropped into the front of the cribs to allow the emplacement of additional gravel-filled hides, saw the channels closed and the river’s flow entirely diverted to the other side of the island.

In mid-August, 1865 the main Nil Desperandum cofferdam was complete.



FIGURE 7.5 Tamaiti Dam, Tuapeka 1905 ‘View Overlooking the Tamaiti Dam Showing the Method of Construction’, *Otago Witness*, 4 April, 1906, p.45, Hocken Library Collections Uare Taoka o Hakena file, permission for use: S12-239a.

⁶⁵ ‘Pioneer’, *Cromwell Argus*, 17 August 1908, p. 3.

⁶⁶ ‘Quartz Reef Point’, *Otago Daily Times*, 10 August 1865, p. 7.



FIGURE 7.6 : ‘Dams and Dam Building: Tamaiti Dam, Tuapeka, 1906’ Hocken Library Collections Uare Taoka o Hakena file, permission for use: S12-239b

A Goldfields Tradition

As always happened in the Otago goldfields, a celebration was immediately required to mark what the papers called the ‘turning of the river’. The women of Quartz Reef Point were invited to join their husbands at the work site on the day of the celebrations and were saluted on their arrival with stone artillery, which involves the startling practice of using small charges of gunpowder set into shallow holes drilled into rock and set off with a fuse, to the accompaniment of smaller firearms discharged into the air.

The warden cannot have observed this latter practice with equanimity, since only two months before this party he had had to render assistance to a Quartz Reef Point sluicer who had accidentally shot his mate while fiddling with a pistol.⁶⁷ Nevertheless, by means of these salutations the women decided amongst themselves who should be the first to cross dry-footed over to Knobby Island. Miss Annie Thomas, daughter to Ellis Thomas, one of the company shareholders, ‘gracefully tripped along on the stepping-stones which first appeared above the fearful rush of waters, when she was greeted by all with deafening cheers’⁶⁸.

Throughout the rest of the afternoon, ‘the stone artillery kept bellowing forth fire and smoke, reverberating far up the valley of the Clutha, the smaller firearms joining in chorus’ and eventually everyone congregated at the southern tip of Knobby Island for a picnic, toasts and a session of singing which, declared the *Argus* correspondent, ‘were sung with good

⁶⁷ Editorial, *Otago Daily Times*, 8 June 1865, p. 4.

⁶⁸ ‘Quartz Reef Point’, *Otago Daily Times*, 10 August 1865, p. 7.

taste'. As the afternoon temperature dropped, a bonfire was lit, and with the onset of darkness everyone retired across the river to Perriam's newly-built Lowburn hotel, the 'Welcome Home.' The popular hotelier had previously operated his much smaller store and hotel at Quartz Reef Point, but had shifted this to Lowburn and increased its size in 1865. Perriam was a host well known for providing entertainment, from horse racing to Caledonian Sports and athletics events, so it cannot have surprised anyone present to find he had laid on a full night's entertainment featuring dance music, comic turns and soloists, with it all concluding at dawn.⁶⁹

Completing the Project

The upper cofferdam was not finished – nor was the overall project. To complete the main upstream structure, it had to double in thickness with a rockfill buttress, which would make the project a width of 48 feet (15m) at its foundation, and 24 feet (7.5m) thick on the top.⁷⁰ The report in the *Otago Daily Times* on August 10, 1865 suggests that the original embankments had batters of 59 and 65 degrees based on the dimensions given. These steep batters would be flattened to 45 degrees by the addition of the rockfill buttresses.

None of the reports detail how tall the cofferdam breakwater was, but based on the construction of the Tamaiti dam on the Tuapeka River in 1905 - which reportedly used the same size crib frames as the Nil Desperandum had employed⁷¹ - it may be estimated to have been about 30 feet tall (approximately 10m), which would account for the effusion of praise in newspaper descriptions.

The buttress, the syndicate frequently stated, was to be added in anticipation of the huge spring floods which snow melt regularly created in the Upper Clutha. To complete the whole project, the second, lower rockfill embankment had to be completed and then the process of mining the riches of the riverbed could begin. By July 31, they had spent nearly £2750,⁷² and by September this was nearly £3000. In September, Thomas Dick, the Superintendent of Otago, visited Quartz Reef Point and the Nil Desperandum project as part of his first visit to the Dunstan goldfield. The townsfolk of Cromwell put on a dinner and an

⁶⁹ Ibid.

⁷⁰ 'Resident Magistrate's Court', *Otago Daily Times*, 24 August 1864, p. 6.

⁷¹ 'A Revolution in Mining', *Tuapeka Times*, 10 October 1906, p. 3.

⁷² 'News of the Week', *Otago Witness*, 12 August 1865, p. 11.

evening's entertainment in his honour, which included the gold rush ritual of his health being drunk 'three times three.' Dick declared how he was impressed by the project, saying

their operations ... were on a most extensive scale. This afternoon he had visited ... the Nil Desperandum Company, at Quartz Reef Point. The extensive embankments constructed by that company for diverting the current of the Molyneux [Clutha], would be a credit to the old country, and would fill the people there with wonder, especially when they consider the whole of the work was performed by eleven men, unaided by professional assistance, and all in the short space of eleven months. With such energy and enterprise as he had seen upon the goldfields he had no fear for the success of Otago, but held the highest hopes for the future.⁷³

Cheered by this official endorsement, the Nil Desperandum faced the first summer floods of December 1865 with some concern, but celebrated when they saw their construction easily withstand a strong surge, declaring to the *Otago Daily Times* correspondent 'The recent very high floods in the Clutha have not had the slightest effect on the breakwater, proving, to the great satisfaction of the company, its strength and durability',⁷⁴.

Notwithstanding this confidence, the company applied itself anew to completing the inner buttress before the structure was tested in larger snow melt floods which were sure to follow. By Christmas 1865 this 'back support' was well over halfway finished,⁷⁵ but then the Clutha showed its real power with a very nasty Christmas gift to the company. The river rose – then kept on rising. The company men realised with horror that they were faced with a mammoth flood, greater than anyone had calculated when the project was planned, and quickly set to work as the floodwaters lapped at the top of the breakwater. Jolly records how they worked 'night and day' to strengthen the wall, increasing the size of the cofferdam with additional supports and abutments, even constructing stone buttresses to add lateral strength. In one particularly frenetic night's work, they even raised the top of the entire principal breakwater by several feet, but they were fighting a losing battle. By the end of December, 1865 the floodwaters forced a breach where the buttress was incomplete, carrying over 300 feet (100m) away.⁷⁶ To make matters worse, the floodwater level remained high, so that by mid-January any hope of effecting temporary repairs to minimise damage to the structure had to wait for the floodwaters to subside.⁷⁷

⁷³ 'Cromwell', *Otago Daily Times*, 29 September 1865, p. 5.

⁷⁴ 'News of the Week', *Otago Witness*, 2 December 1865, p. 13.

⁷⁵ 'Cromwell', *Dunstan Times*, 3 February 1866, p. 3.

⁷⁶ 'Dunstan', *Otago Daily Times*, 19 January 1866, p. 5.

⁷⁷ Editorial, *Otago Daily Times*, 1 February 1866, p. 4.

Ameliorating the loss

The miners of the Nil Desperandum began sluicing near their claim to try and maintain the cashflow for the syndicate, but they were working in an area that a few months before, the warden had written to lament the poor returns to sluicers.⁷⁸ People with an undying faith in the Nil Desperandum estimated that for a mere £800 - £1000 the damage could be righted and the enterprise be put back on track.⁷⁹ But the more sober assessment of company insiders estimated that a figure of £1700⁸⁰ to complete repairs was closer to the truth. And pockets that had been drained of this amount once were not available to be drained a second time.

The company needed help, and so they turned to the government. At their invitation, Mr Moss, Provincial Treasurer and Mr J. Hughes, the local member of the government visited. Like all visitors seeing the project (or even its remains) for the first time, they expressed 'great astonishment at the magnitude of the undertaking, and the successful manner in which the company had so far as the works had advanced towards completion succeeded in diverting the rapid and powerful current of the Clutha.'⁸¹ They also expressed regret that only a lack of funds prevented the project's completion, stating that they 'believed that were the thing only thoroughly known to capitalists in Dunedin, the necessary assistance would speedily be forthcoming.'⁸²

The Nil Desperandum shareholders showed Moss and Hughes over the works, and then asked 'if they could recommend the Government to make an advance to finish the work, which would be the forerunner, if successful, of similar undertakings on an even greater scale.'⁸³ They were asking the right men, because Moss and Hughes' voices were certainly ones which were listened to within the government, but they the wrong ones to approach with dreams, hopes and schemes to re-create what was always a risky proposition. Moss was the Otago Government official who had taken on the task of steering the province's precarious finances through the severe strains imposed by the sudden demands placed on it by the gold rush, in the face of a London Stock Exchange refusal to recognise provincial loans,⁸⁴ and he had managed this feat by cautious, conservative management, not speculation.

It cannot have surprised anyone then, that the government men declared this as

⁷⁸ 'News of the Week', *Otago Witness*, 12 August 1865, p. 11.

⁷⁹ 'Dunstan', *Otago Daily Times*, 8 March 1866, p. 5.

⁸⁰ 'Cromwell', *Dunstan Times*, 3 February 1866, p. 3.

⁸¹ 'Dunstan', *Otago Daily Times*, 8 March 1866, p. 5.

⁸² Editorial, *Dunstan Times*, 2 March 1866, p. 3.

⁸³ 'News of the Week', *Otago Daily Times*, 8 March 1866, p. 5.

⁸⁴ 'Mr Moss, Provincial Treasurer', *Cyclopedia of NZ*, Vol.4, p. 107.

something between impossible and unlikely, promising that ‘they would mention the wishes of the Company and bring this before His Honour the Superintendent, but that under any circumstances no such advance could be made by the Government without a special vote of the Council, which it was very unlikely would be granted, because if granted numerous similar claims would arise, and it was necessary for the Government to act on a definite principle in all cases’.⁸⁵ In an effort to lighten their reply, Moss, a man with considerable experience in such matters, suggested the Nil Desperandum men form a Joint Stock Company. The government men left, leaving the cofferdam incomplete, unrepaired and needing a new solution.

The sluicers redoubled their efforts, persisting despite ‘barely earning ordinary wages, but prefer doing this to going away, as they are anxiously watching the ebbing of the Clutha to return to their river claim, which they seem determined not to abandon after spending two years and about £4000 already on the breakwater and dams.’⁸⁶

Three last acts heralded the end to the gamble. The first was an attempt by the remaining shareholders to float the Nil Desperandum Joint Stock Company. They made the error of trying to secure the money already expended as retained capital, floating the rest in a company set up by the well-known Dunedin share broking firm of Connell and Moodie. Dunedin investors saw plenty to reject in the idea of money previously spent remaining as accumulated shares to represent present value, chose not to invest, and the enterprise folded.

The second response was led by the young Yorkshireman Brian Hebden. In June, when the winter snow reduces the Clutha’s flow to its minimum, he and fellow Nil Desperandum shareholder William Harrison crossed over to Knobby Island, where they discovered that the remains of the breakwater significantly altered the flow around the skirts of the island. After an afternoon spent shifting the gravel over-burden, they discovered some extremely rich wash-dirt.

Seven other groups, including one including former shareholders Ellis Thomas and David Jolly in their number, followed on this success, pegging out claims and settling in for the winter.⁸⁷ It cannot have slipped the notice of the shareholders that these enterprises, mining gravels right where their project was going to operate, revealed ground that was remarkably rich.

⁸⁵ ‘News of the Week’, *Otago Daily Times*, 8 March 1866, p. 5.

⁸⁶ Editorial, *Otago Daily Times*, 13 April 1866, p. 4.

⁸⁷ ‘Mining Intelligence’, *Dunstan Times*, 2 June 1866, p.2.

Later that year, Brian Hebden used the gold he won there to become a shareholder in the Thomas Logan and Jack Garrett's Cromwell Company rich quartz mine at Bendigo.⁸⁸ Ellis Thomas took his accumulated earnings and purchased a shareholding in the Rise and Shine sluicing syndicate,⁸⁹ while Harrison would leave mining to become a general store owner at Bendigo.⁹⁰ David Jolly set up his first general store at Cromwell in 1869, expanding into other branches around Central Otago in the following years and was mayor of Cromwell four times. Cromwell Historian James Crombie Parcell said Jolly "was a founding member of every institution the town possessed".⁹¹

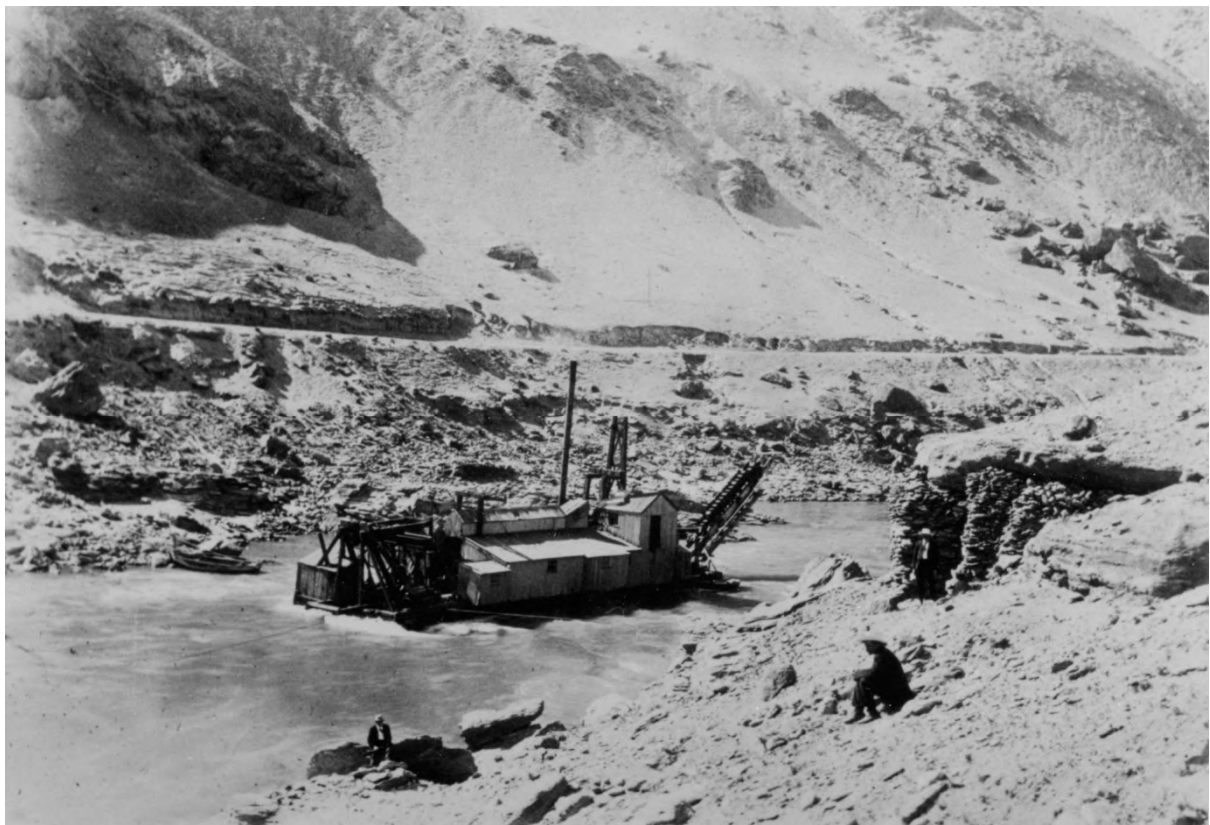


FIGURE 7.7 The Maori Dredge at Quartz Reef Point, taken from Knobby Island, c. 1899 (the dredge is in the channel dammed by the Nil Desperandum), from the R.W. Murray Collection, used with permission.

The last group to work the area held by the Nil Desperandum Company at Quartz Reef Point was the dredging companies. Dredging technology evolved quickly from its primitive beginnings in the mid-1860's to the cutting-edge machines like the Lady Ranfurly and Hartley machines that captured the public imagination and filled shareholders' pockets.

⁸⁸ L. Carpenter, 'Reviled in the Record: Thomas Logan, and the Origins of the Cromwell Quartz Mining Company, Bendigo, Otago', *Journal of Australasian Mining History* 9 (2011), p.47.

⁸⁹ *Otago Daily Times* 17 May 1866, p.4.

⁹⁰ *Cromwell Argus*, 22 December 1869, p.1

⁹¹ Parcell, *Heart*, p.63.

This evolution made projects like the Nil Desperandum Company's plan unnecessary, and far less risky or expensive as a means to get at the riches of the Clutha river bed. The area which had been the company's claim was dredged several times, firstly by the Maori Dredge (see FIGURE 7.7) in 1898-9⁹² and then again by the Talbot, Kloogh and Brice Dredging company from mid-1899 to around 1902.⁹³ All reported that the area was very rich.

Conclusion

The Nil Desperandum scheme to dam the Clutha River at Quartz Reef Point nearly worked. It represents an innovative, daring, even radical approach to finding a solution to what seemed like an impossible engineering problem. The plan they conceived and put into motion came very close to succeeding. If it had succeeded, it would have been discussed in the same way locals talk of other colonial-era engineering feats like the river dredges, Denniston Incline, Raurimu Spiral and Auckland's Grafton Bridge, and would have represented an early example of the 'Number 8 wire'-defining national trait⁹⁴ that New Zealanders celebrate in innovators who built the Hamilton jet boat, Gallagher electric fence, Britten motorcycle, Weta Workshops and the Black Magic NZL32 yacht.

Had it not been for a larger-than-expected flood in December, 1865, the syndicate would be remembered for their boldness and, given the riches found at Quartz Reef Point by dredgemen forty years later, for the wealth the wrested from their claim area. As a failure, it is forgotten. The financial strain it created locally set investment by Cromwell merchants back for a year, meaning any opportunities offering participation in large water race or quartz mining syndicates were ignored, leaving Clyde and Alexandra businessmen to pick up on most new proposals until around 1867.

It is too great a stretch to suggest that the Nil Desperandum enterprise had any influence at all on New Zealand's colonial narrative. It was mentioned by the builders of the 1905 Tamaiti dam, suggesting that it informed some of their engineering decisions, but apart from that, the Nil Desperandum has faded from memory in Central Otago. But the sheer audacity of the scheme, the exception to the amalgamated claims rules of careful planning and conservative execution to develop new projects means it deserves, in the way it is the exception to all other goldfields narratives and the received engineering history of the rush, to

⁹² 'The Maori Dredge on Gold', *Otago Witness*, 16 February 1899, p. 18; Illustrations, 12 September 1900, p.26.

⁹³ The Goldfields of New Zealand: Report on Roads, Water Races, Mining Machinery, and Other Works in Connection with Mining, Appendix to the Journals of the House of Representatives, 1902 Session I, C-03, p.108.

⁹⁴ Claudia Bell, *Inventing New Zealand – Everyday Myths of Pakeha Identity* (Auckland, Penguin books, 1996)

be commemorated as the extraordinary, the remarkable – and, probably, also as the most quixotic – scheme of the Central Otago gold rush.

The final judgement on the enterprise was penned by syndicate member David Jolly, who as ‘Pioneer’ set down his early experiences in 1908: the Nil Desperandum dam project ‘was entirely one of the pluckiest and maddest schemes ever undertaken’.⁹⁵

⁹⁵ ‘Pioneer’, *Cromwell Argus*, 17 August 1908, p.3.

Chapter 8 – Corporatisation and the 1881 Strike at Bendigo

Oh my heart is filled with woe-
 Out of work and ne'er a show.
 What the dickens made me go
 On the strike?

....

I would take the 9 and 6
 But for others in the fix
 Who together stick like bricks
 On the strike.

....

We've been stubborn, but we see
 That a strike brings misery
 Upon this we all agree
 On the strike.

Anon.¹

Introduction

Histories of the Otago gold rush are replete with the experience of miners in terms of their hedonistic behaviour, the richness (or otherwise) of their claims and their experiences in a harsh environment. In stark contrast with this Arcadian ideal, my research reveals that in some places there were early examples of corporate excess, arbitrary employer actions, a growing class struggle and eventually, bitter labour conflict.

In 1881 the worst kind of corporate behaviours, of the type which produced the 'Occupy' reactionary movement around the world in 2010-11 was manifest at Bendigo. It centres on a brutal industrial conflict which began when the entire workforce at the Cromwell Company's mine went on strike.

This strike occupies a unique, heretofore unrecognised and critically important position on New Zealand's colonial industrial relations timeline. The conflict tore the community apart, as in scenes reminiscent of Highland Clearances and Irish Land League battles, armed police oversaw the employer-decreed destruction of homes and the eviction of families in what was the only New Zealand dispute to ever escalate into this extreme behaviour.

¹ Anon., 'The Wail of the Striker'. *Cromwell Argus*, July 26 1881, p. 4.

I used contemporary local and regional newspaper reports and mining surveys to examine the events and discuss the profoundly polarised parties in the dispute, highlighting some unique aspects in the context of New Zealand's labour history. My interest in these events was sparked by finding an atypical ruin in the archaeological landscape, the remains of a very substantial house (FIGURE 8.1). This chapter examines these events and explains how the house came to be ruined.



FIGURE 8.1 The ruin at Welshtown, Bendigo Historic Reserve. Photograph: L. Carpenter 2011.

One ruin is not like the others

In the heritage landscape of the Bendigo Historic Reserve and among the standing structures, one ruin is not like the others. This collapsed dwelling is the remains of a structure that was massively built of skilfully placed and double faced stone, with tie blocks and lining plaster adhering to the internal wall.² It was once as impressive as the largest and most complete of Bendigo's standing structures, the house erected at Welshtown in 1882 by Cornish miner

² New Zealand Archaeological Association, Archaeological Site Recording Scheme ARCH SITE (<http://www.archsite.org.nz/>) archaeological records S124/308 and S12/309; accessed 2 February 2011; Featured on A.R. Mackay's 1876 Bendigo Quartz Mining Claims Survey as a 'House and Garden', Land Information New Zealand Dunedin office, File S2086 Mining.

William Pengelly (FIGURE 8.2). Despite the formidable architecture of the ruin, just one wall remains, while poorer huts constructed by less able stonemasons remain standing elsewhere in the reserve.



FIGURE 8.2 - Pengelly's House, Welshtown. Built 1882, abandoned in 1899. Photograph L. Carpenter, 2001.

Its collapse was not from 150 years of exposure to the harsh Central Otago climate, modern road-builders or vandalising visitors; it was deliberately deconstructed, its debris scattered in a uniform depth over the gully floor. The cause of this destruction was a little-remembered series of events arising out of a prolonged and bitter labour dispute at Bendigo in 1881.

On the face of it, Bendigo is an unlikely place for such acrimony. As someone wrote to Clyde's *Dunstan Times* newspaper: "Now if there is one place in New Zealand where kindly feeling should exist between employer and employed, that place is Bendigo. This has always been the case heretofore, and the company has reaped the benefit thereof".³ But such was not the case as this writer knew, for he was making these comments at the end of a conflict that tore the small Central Otago community apart, featuring scenes reminiscent of Highland Clearances and Irish Land League struggles, with armed police, the destruction of houses and the eviction of families.

³ 'Bendigo', *Dunstan Times*, 16 September 1881, p. 2.

It was not New Zealand's first miner's strike; skirmishes between coal miners and their employers occurred at Kaitangata in 1873⁴ and a more protracted battle over mine safety happened at Shag Point in 1880,⁵ but at over nine weeks in length, the 1881 Cromwell Company miners' strike at Bendigo was the longest and arguably the most bitter mining strike in nineteenth century Otago. It was significant for the way nineteenth-century tensions between landowner and tenant reminiscent of an earlier British era were suddenly and cruelly manifest in the new gold-made colonial Otago. The events shocked everyone with their suddenness, brutality and the extremity of the positions adopted by all sides.

A Suppressed History

The 1881 strike at Bendigo happened in a remote mining settlement three days' travel from Dunedin, which meant that despite widespread local sympathy, large public meetings in the nearby town of Cromwell and fundraising for the miners and their families, together with some – albeit belated and restrained – reportage in the main Otago papers, it did not receive the attention that similar events in a major town would have generated.

There are other reasons for muted discussion of the strike then and since. Local sensitivities in Cromwell – even 70 years after the events – influenced James Crombie Parcell, the 1937 Cromwell mayor, prominent regional lawyer and local historian, to attenuate his narrative of the strike in his 1951 *Heart of the Desert* history. Parcell's law clerk of 30 years, Cromwell historian Ron Murray said, 'James Parcell couldn't tell the whole story, it was a very painful subject for many local folk who had heard tales of what their parents or grandparents went through, and you have to remember that the descendants of the employer side were still around too.'⁶ He added, 'When it was announced he was going to write [the *Heart of the Desert*], someone took the 1881 volume of the *Cromwell Argus* from the newspaper office and threw it into the Clutha to stop him delving too deeply.'⁷ Geoffrey Duff, principal of Tarras School (near Bendigo) for 32 years and author of the regional history *Sheep May Safely Graze* (1978) said '[Cromwell] is one of those fraught situations

⁴ Editorial, *Otago Daily Times*, 22 February 1873, p. 2

⁵ 'The Shag Point Strike', *Otago Daily Times*, 12 July 1880, p. 3.

⁶ Ron Murray, Cromwell, interview with author, 2 February 2010.

⁷ James Crombie Parcell's firm, Broderick Parcell were solicitors for Charles Todd Jr (son of Cromwell Company Mine Manager Charles Todd Snr.) and his New Bendigo Gold Mining Company in 1933: Prospectus of the New Bendigo Gold Mining Company Limited, 7 February 1933.

after a strike like Denniston and Waihi, where for generations folk remember who was a striker and who was a scab in the dispute.’⁸

This suppression has proven remarkably effective: the events at Bendigo has not been examined by New Zealand labour historians, was not discussed in J.D. Salmond’s 1950 Doctoral thesis on the *History of the Labour Movement in New Zealand 1840-94*, does not feature in Salmond’s correspondence with nineteenth century trade unionists,⁹ and is not mentioned in any of the significant Otago regional histories by McIntock, Olssen, or Reed.¹⁰ This is partly because the strike received limited coverage in the contemporary Dunedin newspapers and anyone attempting to construct a complete narrative would need access to all of the regional papers from Clyde and Cromwell (including the only surviving volume of the 1881 *Cromwell Argus*, in Wellington’s Alexander Turnbull Library).

In an interview just before his death, Ron Murray told me ‘It’s time the story was told, but no local could ever write it.’¹¹ My research into the unique aspects of the conflict prompted me to rise to Murray’s challenge and take a closer look at Bendigo, 1881.

The emergent union movement

The consensus of writing on the earliest period of New Zealand’s labour relations history by Richardson, Roth, Salmond, Olssen and others describes an evolutionary, iterative process whereby workers learned to collectivise to combat employer practices, resist wage cuts and to strive for better pay through a chain of landmark conflicts. This is described by Herbert Roth as advancing ‘in a series of waves which reflected the economic state of the country.... Each wave was stronger than the previous one and the intervals between them became shorter,’¹² and culminating in widespread union membership and political activity in the late 1880s¹³ and reaching an early watershed in the seminal Maritime Strike of 1890.

⁸ Geoffrey Duff, Tapanui, interview with author, 17 August 2000.

⁹ J.D. Salmond, Dr: Papers, Correspondence 1878-1924, Ref. Misc-MS-0257, Hocken Library Archives Collection, University of Otago; James David Salmond, *New Zealand Labour’s Pioneering Days*, (Ed.) Desmond Crowley, (Auckland: Forward Press, 1950).

¹⁰ Alexander H. McIntock, *The History of Otago* (Dunedin: Otago Centennial Historical Publications, 1949); Olssen, E., *A History of Otago* (Dunedin: John McIndoe, 1984); Reed, A.H., *The Story of Otago* (Wellington: Reed, 1947).

¹¹ Ron Murray, Cromwell, telephone interview with author, 10 February 2010.

¹² Herbert Roth, *Trade Unions in New Zealand*, (Wellington: Reed, 1973), pp. 9-10.

¹³ Roth, *Trade Unions*, p. 11; Tony Simpson, “The Holt Narrative and the Industrial Relations Agenda,” *New Zealand Journal of Industrial Relations* 12, no. 3, (1987), p. 147.

Considering this timeline, it is therefore significant that the 1881 strike at Bendigo was a decade before gold miners at Thames and Waihi first organised into a union,¹⁴ three years before John Lomas arrived at Denniston to organise the West Coast coal miners and nine years before the Maritime dispute of 1890.¹⁵ It was not a union struggle; there is no evidence in local newspapers or warden's reports that Central Otago miners were organising into unions,¹⁶ although the news of industrial action by miners in Victoria was certainly widely known among the newspaper subscribers in the area. It is therefore one of the more surprising aspects of this dispute that the Bendigo miners were a non-hierarchical, mutual-supportive, locally-organised group of individuals combining their strength and collectivising as a unified proto-union to fight entrenched employer notions of the right to cut wages when profits fell.

The Events Leading to the Strike at Bendigo

The dispute had a long genesis. In the early 1870s, at the beginning of the quartz boom at Bendigo, 'practical miners' were a sought-after commodity; the *Otago Daily Times* commenting that 'great difficulty is experienced in obtaining men capable of performing the work required, and a good opening exists [at Bendigo] for miners accustomed to deep sinking. The wages offered are high, and the shifts are eight hours.'¹⁷ Notwithstanding the high wages, the first, biggest and richest of the companies, the Cromwell Quartz Mining Company, proved remarkably profitable, averaging 2½ ounces of gold per ton of stone throughout 1870 and making the three pioneer shareholders very wealthy men.¹⁸ A combination of generous wages and a steady flow of dividends made for a harmonious work environment, which included company picnics and days off to celebrate weddings, new battery launches and the occasional 'bonanza' discovery.¹⁹

¹⁴ J.B. (Bert) McAra, *Gold Mining at Waihi 1878 – 1952*, (Waihi: Waihi Historical Society, 1878), pp. 68, 72, 256 – 259.

¹⁵ Len Richardson, 'British Colliers and Colonial Capitalists: the Origins of Coalmining Unionism in New Zealand' in *Common Cause: Essays in Australian and New Zealand Labour History*, ed. Eric Fry (Wellington: Allen & Unwin/ Port Nicholson Press, 1986), p. 62.

¹⁶ See John Angus, *City and Country, Change and Continuity: Electoral Politics and Society in Otago, 1877 – 1893*, (PhD diss., University of Otago, 1976), Vol. 1, Part 1, p. 97.

¹⁷ 'Mining', *Otago Daily Times* 22 December 1870, p. 2.

¹⁸ L. Carpenter, 'Reviled in the Record: Thomas Logan, and origins of the Cromwell Quartz Mining Company, Bendigo, Otago' *Journal of Australasian Mining History*, 9 2011, pp. 48-50.

¹⁹ For example: (Picnic) 'Local', *Cromwell Argus*, 20 December 1869, p. 3; (Sports Day) 'Local', *Dunstan Times*, 31 December 1869, p. 2; (Battery Celebration and Dance) 'The Aurora Company's Battery', *Cromwell Argus*, 9 February 1870, p. 3; (Wedding) 'The Reefs', 6 March 1870, p. 3.

These halcyon days at Bendigo did not persist and in 1871, with the exception of the Cromwell Company, each of the local quartz companies reported a disastrous year of poor returns, expensive development costs and a string of unanswered shareholder calls. In response, the companies conspired to force down wages from £4 per week to £3.10.²⁰ The miners employed at the four main companies which remained working: the Cromwell, Colclough, Aurora and Alta ‘expressed great dissatisfaction and threatened strike ... [but] when it was seen that the Companies were firm, capitulated ... [and] accepted the reduced rate.’²¹

Reduced wages did not rescue the companies from failing returns and high overheads and with the exception of the Cromwell Company all the other Bendigo quartz companies were abandoned or worked on tribute by the end of 1871.²² In the following year, big changes occurred in the Cromwell operation. Following the tragic death of his young wife Matilda, Brian Hebden, the young Yorkshire-born shareholder who had worked as the Cromwell Company’s mine manager since its inception in 1868,²³ sold his shareholding to Cromwell Gold Receiver Borthwick Baird and returned to his hometown of Ripon in Yorkshire.²⁴ The departure of the popular Hebden marked a change in labour relations and the first of several wholesale redundancies from the workforce was announced in October: ‘the Cromwell company reduced the number of their hands, several of whom have left the district ... It is a painful experience to note the disappearance of old and familiar faces from a small community like ours, but such is the miner’s lot.’²⁵ Apart from the resigned air of these comments by the local *Cromwell Argus* correspondent, little was made of this evolution in the company behaviour and of the change in the miners’ job security, despite the profound change in the fortunes of Bendigo.

In 1876 the Cromwell Company was restructured again, to reflect the cashing up and departure of the remaining pioneer shareholders and to bring in new investors and their

²⁰ ‘Quartz Mining News’, *Cromwell Argus*, 14 March 1871, p. 2.

²¹ ‘Bendigo’, *Dunstan Times*, 31 March 1871, p. 3.

²² In New Zealand tributes were teams of miners working mines on behalf of the owners for a scale of percentages of the gold won. Not to be confused with tribute systems in Victoria, used by employers to subvert minimum staffing levels and reduce wage costs (see Charles Fahey, ‘Labour and Trade Unionism in Victorian Goldmining: Bendigo, 1861-1915’ in *Gold Forgotten Histories and Lost Objects of Australia*, ed. Iain McCalman, Alexander Cook, Andrew Reeves (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2001), pp. 73-4, 77.

²³ Warden’s Court, *Dunstan Times*, 24 December 1869, p. 2.

²⁴ ‘Mining’, *Tuapeka Times*, 3 October 1872, p. 4.

²⁵ ‘Bendigo’, *Cromwell Argus*, 22 October 1872, p. 2.

capital from Dunedin.²⁶ This arms-length ownership was a departure from the first years, when pioneer shareholders, Brian Hebden, Thomas Logan and Jack Garrett lived at Logantown as neighbours to their employees when they developed their mine. This structural change was exacerbated by the appointment of a (non-shareholder) mine manager, Thomas Rooney,²⁷ a change which was tested with the decision to reduce wages again, this time down to £3 per week. Bendigo quartz miners, by now fully reliant on the Cromwell Company for employment, were expected to fall in with the new company edict, but they reacted with unexpected ferocity, announcing strike action in local newspapers:

NOTICE TO MINERS. It having been intimated by Proprietors that on 17th October 1876 the WAGES of all Men employed in the CROMWELL QUARTZ MINING CO., Bendigo, will be REDUCED, it is Hereby Notified that the men intend to STRIKE against the Reduction of their wages, and they request the Sympathy and Support of all Miners by not coming to Bendigo while the STRIKE IS ON.²⁸

However the threat was hollow and the strike collapsed. The *Otago Daily Times*' Bendigo correspondent noted acerbically that 'the strike among the miners working at the Cromwell Company's mine at Bendigo creates no sensation ... and I learn that the proprietors are resolved not to be dictated to in the matter. They will have no difficulty in finding men at the reduced rate, but the question is whether a miner knowing the work and the ground is not worth 10s per week more than a stranger.'²⁹ There was neither a dominant solidarity among miners, nor any lack of men prepared to accept the prospect of steady wages at the mine and mining continued unabated.

The company made progress by purchasing the moribund Aurora Quartz Company's assets, which included the massive Devil's Creek water race and their 10-head battery, which allowed the construction of the 20-head Matilda Battery up at the Cromwell mine mouth (see FIGURE 8.3).³⁰ This removed the necessity for carters to shift dray loads of ore down the three mile road to the Solway Battery at the Bendigo Gorge mouth and substantially reduced the cost of operations.³¹

²⁶ Advertisement, 'Notice of Special Claim & Registration, Cromwell Quartz Mining Company', *Cromwell Argus*, 1 February 1876, p. 1.

²⁷ 'Bendigo', *Cromwell Argus*, 10 October 1876, p. 2; Letter: 'The Threatened Strike at Bendigo', p. 3.

²⁸ Advertisements, *Otago Witness*, 14 October 1876, p. 13.

²⁹ Advertisements, *Otago Witness*, 4 November 1876, p. 7.

³⁰ 'Cromwell Quartz Mining Company (Ltd)', *Cromwell Argus*, 13 February 1877, p. 5.

³¹ 'Bendigo', *Otago Witness*, 2 March 1878, p. 6; 'Bendigo', *Cromwell Argus*, 13 August 1878, p. 4.



Figure 8.3 Matilda Battery Cromwell Company Mine, Bendigo. Matilda Battery c.1883. Cromwell Museum Collection. Used with permission.

In 1878, the company appointed a new mill manager called Charles Todd who had experience at Milton and Tuapeka,³² who acted to improve efficiency and safety at the mine, while trimming workforce numbers to 40. He and Rooney spent the ensuing two years on a comprehensive programme of ‘dead work’ to expand the workable area,³³ in addition to developing a string of shoots of good stone in the original workings.³⁴ His infrequent expansion and trimming of the number of miners prompted some commentary from the *Argus*:

The original shareholders though few in number surmounted all difficulties that came their way, and laid bare one of the best quartz reefs that is to be found in New Zealand. But there seems to be this difference between present and past opponents: the original shareholders were practical miners, prepared to meet disappointment and take the bull by the horns; the latter turn out fainthearted speculators, who expected large returns for the venture.³⁵

This sort of opinion was typical for the editor of the *Argus*, although the above comment was written by the paper’s local correspondent (probably a storekeeper at Bendigo). Glasgow-born Stephen Noble Brown travelled to Dunedin as a 17 year-old in 1861 where he

³² John Gully, ‘Todd, Charles’, from *An Encyclopaedia of New Zealand*, edited by A. H. McLintock, originally published in 1966. Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand, updated 22-Nov-11. URL: <http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/1966/todd-charles/1> accessed August 12, 2012.

³³ ‘Bendigo’, *Cromwell Argus*, 8 October 1878, p. 3; ‘dead work’ means putting the mine in working order by completing new drives, cross-cuts, sinking winzes and settling passes, without focusing on payable stone, to expand the capacity of the mine.

³⁴ ‘Cromwell Quartz Mining’, *Otago Daily Times*, 18 July 1879, p. 7.

³⁵ ‘Bendigo’, *Cromwell Argus*, 23 March 1880, p. 2.

worked for a printer,³⁶ joined the Gabriel's Gully rush, then moved to Invercargill to work for the *Invercargill Times*.³⁷ In 1872 he set up as a printer in Arrowtown,³⁸ leaving in 1875 to buy the *Cromwell Argus*.³⁹ Brown was Cromwell Mayor in 1877, commanded the Cromwell Volunteers with the rank of Major,⁴⁰ served on the Jockey Club, School and Hospital Committees and in 1884 stood as a candidate for the Wakatipu electorate.⁴¹ His 12 year reign as editor was noted for his passionate advocacy of Cromwell and for speaking up against what he perceived as injustices.⁴²

The 'dead work' expansion was successful and by September 1880, 'three times as much ground [had been] opened up by the Cromwell Company at the present time as there was ever before'⁴³ and the directors expected that it would soon pay dividends. C.S. Reeves and Arthur Scoullar, two of the Dunedin-based directors, then 'went up to Cromwell and turned off 60 miners,'⁴⁴ reducing the workforce by two-thirds and demonstrating, not for the first time, that the Cromwell Company directors were far more than remote, passive governors of the enterprise.

Underlying this event, there were other influences at play: the earliest signs of the economic contraction called the 'Long Depression' would have been noticed by the Dunedin-based shareholders of the Cromwell Company (see below). This would shape how they responded when a dispute arose, and for all the potential profit in completing the dead work, the miners of Bendigo would not be shielded from the directors' reaction to the impending slump.⁴⁵

³⁶ Jane Smallfield and Brian Heenan, *Above the Belt: a History of the suburb of Maori Hill* (Dunedin: Otago UP, 2006).

³⁷ 'Marriage', *Southland Times*, 25 November 1870, p. 2.

³⁸ 'Government Land Sales', *Otago Witness*, 20 April 1872, p. 8.

³⁹ Editorial, *Otago Daily Times*, 22 January 1875, p. 2.

⁴⁰ Editorial, *Otago Daily Times*, 8 March 1887, p. 2.

⁴¹ 'Mr Fergus at Arrowtown', *Otago Daily Times*, 10 July 1884, p. 3.

⁴² Debby Foster "S. N. Brown & Co.: 1891-1988." Unpublished essay submitted for the requirements of ENGL 368: Approaches to Writing about Literature, Dunedin: University of Otago, 2003, pp. 2-3 as cited in Sara C. Berger, "A Paradise Rubric: Introduction to the Bird of Paradise," in *The Bird of Paradise (Annotated by Sara Berger)*, New Zealand Electronic Text Collection, <http://nzetc.victoria.ac.nz/tm/scholarly/tei-BerTheB-t1-g1-t1.html>, accessed 8 March 2012 .

⁴³ 'Cromwell', *Otago Daily Times*, 18 September 1880, p. 2.

⁴⁴ 'Cromwell Quartz Mining Company', *Otago Daily Times*, 15 January 1881, p. 1.

⁴⁵ Jim McAloon, *No Idle Rich – The Wealthy in Canterbury and Otago 1840 – 1914*, (Dunedin: Otago UP, 2002), p. 126.

The Dispute Erupts

Even though good quantities of consistently-payable, highly remunerative stone was being raised and regular dividend payments had resumed, just before winter set in, the shareholders again reduced wages to the miners. The notice of a reduction from 10s per ten hour shift for each man underground to 9s 6d for miners and 9s for trammers, (also known as truckers) led the entire Bendigo mining workforce to down tools and walk off the job.⁴⁶

Their grievance was notified in a paid advertisement in the *Otago Witness* on June 18, 1881: 'MINERS and OTHERS are requested to absent themselves from Bendigo after June 11th, on account of a STRIKE caused by the reduction of wages in the Cromwell Company's mine.'⁴⁷ This appeared in each weekly edition of the *Otago Witness* for six weeks and in papers as far away as Timaru and Invercargill. In the same edition, there was a company advertisement which escalated the conflict by directly challenging the miners' unity: 'Cromwell Quartz-mining Company, Bendigo. Wanted, miners and truckers. Steady employment. Wages: miners, 9s 6d per day; truckers, 9s and 8s 6 per day.'⁴⁸ Given the success of this approach five years earlier and the fact that regular wage work was becoming scarcer in Central Otago, it is unsurprising that the shareholders adopted this tactic to call the miners' bluff.

The *Cromwell Argus* reflected the shock felt by the Bendigo miners in its first reports of the strike: 'The season of the year chosen by the directors to reduce the men is an unfortunate aspect of the case. Fuel is an expensive item at Bendigo, and it may be assumed that the cost of living generally is more there than in other mining centres close to Cromwell.'⁴⁹ The editor, while allowing that 'the directors know their own business best' stepped aside from any supposed neutrality to comment that '10s per day for experienced miners does not seem too high a wage, and it is questionable whether there will prove to be any profit to the company in allowing an excellent staff of workmen to be broken up with a small additional gain.'⁵⁰

Given the failure of previous strikes at the mine, the directors expected eventual acceptance of the new rates, but now the miners showed their tolerance had bottomed out. In

⁴⁶ Advertisements, *Otago Witness*, 25 June 1881, p. 11.

⁴⁷ Advertisements, *Otago Witness*, 18 June 1881, p. 16.

⁴⁸ Advertisements, *Otago Witness*, 18 June 1881, p. 17.

⁴⁹ 'The Mines', *Otago Witness*, 25 June 1881, p. 11.

⁵⁰ 'Local and General', *Otago Witness*, 25 June 1881, p. 11.

a letter to the *Cromwell Argus* 'A Bendigo miner' declared that the strike 'will continue for an indefinite period unless the men are employed at the former wage, for they have turned their colours to the mast, and, having the sympathy of their fellow-miners elsewhere, they have no misgivings as to what the result will be.'⁵¹ Another wrote in the same issue that 'practical miners are not as easy to get as some people imagine ... not a single miner had turned up on the look out for work.' The miners kept publishing their prohibitions and successes in newspapers: 'CAUTION TO MINERS – Bendigo Strike continues; no one works at reduced rates; strikers successful; new arrivals at Bendigo refuse to work and join strikers.'⁵²

The strike received muted coverage in Dunedin, where the main press, particularly the two newspapers printed by the *Otago Daily Times and Otago Witness Company* was innately conservative, reflecting its ownership and editorial bent (see below).⁵³ Apart from the miners' advertisements carried by the *Witness*, and the reprinting of the above *Argus* article in its edition of 25 June, (without commentary) there was initially no comment or report on the strike in these influential papers.

Inevitably the dispute turned bitter; Mine Manager Charles Todd was threatened in an anonymous letter saying 'Please stop work. Beware! Beware!'⁵⁴ and a race flume was apparently sabotaged.⁵⁵ The investigating police armed themselves, something they only usually did on gold escort duty. The implication of criminality incensed the miners:

Some five weeks ago the men refuse to work at a reduction of wages ... soon afterwards, a rotten fluming, the property of the company, fell down - from what cause is unknown to us; but its falling was attributed to the miners on strike While I write Inspector Hickson, Sgt McNally and Constable Bridgeman are on the Cromwell Company's ground, while the manager is sporting a six-shooter ... I can assert without fear of contradiction that a more law abiding or orderly lot of men cannot be found in the colony; and neither was the fluming thrown down by them, nor a threatening letter the production of their pen.⁵⁶

The dispute intensified, with the next company tactic directed at miners' homes and families and creating a lasting bitterness, vestiges of which remain part of the social fabric of Cromwell today.

⁵¹ 'News in Brief', *Otago Witness*, 9 July 1881, p. 23.

⁵² 'Mining', *North Otago Times*, 22 July 1881, p. 1; (similar advertisements: *Tuapeka Times*, *Otago Witness*, *Bruce Herald* and others).

⁵³ Guy Hardy Scholefield, *Newspapers and New Zealand* (Wellington: Reed, 1958), pp. 175–6.

⁵⁴ 'Local', *Dunstan Times*, 8 July 1881, p. 2.

⁵⁵ 'News in Brief', *Otago Witness*, 16 July 1881, p. 21.

⁵⁶ Originally in the *Dunedin Herald*, reflecting a refusal of the conservative *Otago daily Times* to print the letter. Reprinted in *Otago Witness*, 16 July 1881, p. 21.

The Clearance of Miner's Houses

In the only instance of such action to occur in any industrial conflict in New Zealand's history, each miner whose house, hut or cottage was built on the 16½ acres of Cromwell Company lease (half of Bendigo's Welshtown) received a hand-delivered letter effectively requiring the destruction of their homes:

Sir,- I am instructed by the legal manager of the Cromwell company to inform you that you have to remove your house from the company's ground within six days from date, and in the event of your not complying with the above request, the company will charge you the following reach the long as you remain on their property, to be paid weekly and in advance, commencing on 18 July, 1881:- first two weeks, 10s per week; third and any remaining week, 15s per week.

- Yours, &c. Charles Todd, Mine Manager⁵⁷

The proposed rents were usurious. Every affected miner's home would have to be pulled down and reassembled off Company land or abandoned. One of them, Mr A. McKenzie spelt out the consequences in a letter to Dunedin's *Herald*:

Few of us had any means of paying rent for the privilege of living in our own houses, and were compelled to pull them down, and carry the timber and iron thereof elsewhere. Many of these cottages were substantial structures.

While the work of demolition was going on, a most sickening spectacle met my gaze. In one of the doomed tenements resided a very delicate young mother, with a little firstborn babe, who had to gather up her little all while her husband's mates carry the roof of his comfortable house and placed it on other walls for the poor invalid's reception.

The sight made many shudder.... and yet with barefaced impudence the Cromwell Company asked for and obtained police protection while they carry on the work of spoliation Such conduct as the above should make the company stink in the nostrils of miners so long as it has an existence.... these facts will help throw Irish evictions and landlord terrorism in the shade.⁵⁸

This account, in addition to its feature in the widely-circulated *Herald*, was re-published by the *Christchurch Star* and regional newspapers like the *Dunstan Times*. It must have resonated alarmingly with Scottish and Irish readers, particularly given its overt reference to the Irish evictions of the late 1870s. Dunedin, even with the population increases of the gold rush, remained an overwhelmingly Scottish centre,⁵⁹ while Cromwell was sufficient

⁵⁷ 'Cromwell', *Dunstan Times*, 15 July 1881, p. 3.

⁵⁸ Letter: 'Evictions in New Zealand', (re-published in) *Star*, July 23, 1881, p. 3.

⁵⁹ Eric Richards, 'Varieties of Scottish Emigration in the Nineteenth Century', *Historical Studies* 21 1985, p. 474; Tom Brooking, "'Tam McCanny and Kitty Clydeside" – The Scots in New Zealand', in *The Scots Abroad*,

stronghold of the Irish (despite the provocative name conferred on it in 1863 by the Ulster-born surveyor, John Connell⁶⁰) that its Catholic Church is dedicated as the ‘Church of the Irish Martyrs.’ In what was probably a deliberate framing of the words used by the Bendigo miner, it would have been widely appreciated that identical words had been used in narratives such as the 1807 eviction of tenants-at-will in Lairg: ‘there was also much personal suffering from their having to pull down their houses and carry away the timber of them’ and in similar accounts of the Highland Clearances.⁶¹



FIGURE 8.4 Figure 8.4 Irish Land Leagues, 1881. Caption: “An Eviction in the West of Ireland”, Extra Supplement to the Illustrated London News, March 19, 1881. Image courtesy of Maggie Blanc Collection, Used with Permission.

ed. R.A.Cage, (London: Croom Helm, 1976), p. 159; David Finkelstein, “‘Jack’s as Good as His Master” – Scots and Print Culture in New Zealand, 1860-1900’ in Ezra Greenspan and Jonathon Rose eds. *Book History, Volume 6*, (Pennsylvania: Penn State Press, 2003), p. 96.

⁶⁰ ‘Cromwell’ from An Encyclopaedia of New Zealand, edited by A. H. McLintock, originally published in 1966. Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand, updated 23-Apr-09, URL: <http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/1966/cromwell/1> accessed April 30, 2012.

⁶¹ John Prebble, *The Highland Clearances*, (Middlesex: Secker & Warburg, 1963), p. 61.

It was not the first time in the world such actions had taken place with miners' housing, but the fact that this involved the miners' own houses makes the events unique. There was a series of mass evictions of striking miners and their families from company-owned houses at coal mines in Durham in 1832, 1844, 1863 and 1879,⁶² the Australian Agricultural Coal Company at Minmi in New South Wales had evicted employees from leased housing for refusing a wage reduction in 1860⁶³ and in 1880 the owners of the Shag Point Colliery in Otago had unsuccessfully tried to persuade the government to evict striking miners from their homes built on the beach reserve (they were told 'the Government will not eject the miners so long as they are peaceable and do not interfere with the freedom of others').⁶⁴ But the closest contemporary historical equivalent for the behaviour of the Cromwell Company was the evictions of tenants during the 'Irish Land League' battles a few months earlier. These were well-known in New Zealand as they had featured – with suitably poignant illustrations – in international newspapers circulated to local subscribers and through the local athenaeum libraries, such as the popular *Illustrated London News* (see FIGURE 8.4)⁶⁵. These events were featured – albeit slanted towards the upholding of order and authority and against the League's actions – in regular 'British News' columns in the *Otago Witness* and *Otago Daily Times*.⁶⁶ They also received extensive polemical, pro-League, pro-Parnell reportage in widely-read *The New Zealand Tablet*.⁶⁷

When early reports were circulated about what was going on at Bendigo, the astonishment that behaviour reminiscent of the clearances could occur in the new arcadia of nineteenth century Otago, was reflected in public subscriptions raised for the miners and their families. Even the *Otago Daily Times* was eventually moved by reports of the director's actions to comment that 'the Company has made a great mistake and risking the dispersion of picked men for so trifling a cause.'⁶⁸ The paper investigated the reports flowing from Bendigo and confirmed with a hint of alarm that 'the strikers' dwellings are ordered to be

⁶² Michael Atkin, *The 1984/85 Miners' strike in East Durham, A study in contemporary history*, (PhD diss., Durham University, 2001), p. 28.

⁶³ Robert James, Origins of the Hunter Labour Movement, *Radical Tradition History Website*, <http://www.takver.com/history/hunterlabour.htm#fn32> accessed April 26 2012; John William Turner, "Coal Mining in Newcastle 1801 – 1900," *Newcastle History Monographs* Number 9, (Newcastle, Newcastle Public Library, 1982), p. 12; John William Turner, 'Brown, James (1816–1894)', *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, National Centre of Biography, Australian National University, <http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/brown-james-3078/text4547>, accessed 12 November 2012.

⁶⁴ Editorial, *Otago Daily Times*, 5 July 1880, p. 2.

⁶⁵ Cromwell Athenaeum Committee records, 1885–1891, Ron W. Murray papers.

⁶⁶ For example: 'Ireland', *Otago Witness*, 14 February 1880, p. 11; 'Our London Letter', *Otago Daily Times*, 11 December 1880, p. 1; 'News in Brief', *Otago Witness*, 26 March 1881, 21.

⁶⁷ 'The Irish Land Leaguers' Trial', *New Zealand Tablet*, 11 March 1881, p. 7.

⁶⁸ 'Telegrams', *Otago Daily Times*, 18 July 1881, p. 2.

removed from the Company's ground' and opined that 'disappointment is felt at the order, as showing a petty and spiteful spirit on the part of the Company, and increased sympathy for the men has found expression in the district.'⁶⁹ This conservative process of cautious investigation into an issue followed by unalloyed condemnation was followed by the *Otago Daily Times*' 1889 investigation into the practice of 'sweated' piece-work labour in the clothing industry in Dunedin⁷⁰ and is a pattern of editorial interventionism in confronting social ills for which the paper's managing director George Fenwick was celebrated.⁷¹

The miners were, despite provocation, fairly law-abiding and they complied with the requirements of the eviction regime without violence. The *Otago Witness* was impressed by the way they turned unity into strength: 'already a stone building has been taken down and rebuilt outside the boundary by the united work of some 40 of the strikers.'⁷² Both of the local papers voiced increasingly strident sympathy for the miners. The *Dunstan Times* commented that 'few will be found to sympathise with the company on such arbitrary action,'⁷³ and its rival, the *Cromwell Argus* upped the ante by publishing Bendigo miners' letters:

Although we have been dogged by the manager, who ... served us with notices to pull down our houses which were erected on the company's leases ... we complied with a request and some of the houses were very substantial structures, composed of stone and iron ... [that] would be no discredit to your own town ... It is a painful feature of the times when such conduct on the part of a wealthy company is permitted to pass unobserved by the independent press of the colony.⁷⁴

But public sympathy did not alter the reality that Bendigo miners and their families faced a cold, moneyless winter immersed in a strike that seemed likely to extend. Realising this, a great deal of local effort went into fundraising, including a public meeting. The *Argus* reported afterwards:

A very large meeting [was] held at Cromwell Athenaeum Hall ... for the purpose of expressing sympathy for the Bendigo miners ... The 'horny handed sons of toil' were present in strong force, and the meeting represented employers and employed on the various mining centres of the district, chiefly Bannockburn, Lowburn, Quartz Reef Point, Gorgetown and

⁶⁹ Ibid..

⁷⁰ James Keating, *Manufacturing Consensus? New Zealand Press Attitudes Toward the Labour Movement in 1890*, (Master's Thesis, Victoria University of Wellington, 2011), p. 45.

⁷¹ George Griffiths. 'Fenwick, George - Biography', from the Dictionary of New Zealand Biography. Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand, updated 1-Sep-10.

URL: <http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/biographies/2f4/1>, accessed August 24, 2012.

⁷² 'News in Brief', *Otago Witness*, 23 July 1881, p. 23.

⁷³ 'Bendigo', *Dunstan Times*, 14 July 1881, p. 2.

⁷⁴ 'Bendigo Gully', *Cromwell Argus*, 19 July 1881, p. 4.

Bendigo. The attendance might fairly be put down at 250 The Mayor, Mr Colclough⁷⁵ occupied the chair and the following resolutions were adopted:

(1) that ... the Cromwell company has acted in a very dishonourable manner by attempting to reduce miners wages, and by trying to make it appear that the men on strike are a mob of unprincipled ruffians to destroy property, and by causing policeman to be stationed on the ground to watch them as if they were convicted felons.

(2) that this meeting approves of the determined stand made by the Bendigo miners...

(3) that ... we deem it is our duty to support the Bendigo miners in the present crisis.⁷⁶

A Strike Committee was established at Bendigo to collect and distribute the additional £111 subscribed at the meeting to the 'Miners and Their Families' Fund.⁷⁷

The Dispute is Resolved – Almost

In the increasing brinkmanship that characterised the dispute, it was the directors who blinked first. At a meeting of the shareholders Friday, August 19 to consider the actions of the directors in reducing the miners' wages, Cromwell Company chairman C.S. Reeves deflected criticism by announcing that he had telegraphed the mine manager to resume mining operations as soon as possible.⁷⁸

The resumption of operations did not bring the dispute to a neat conclusion, because the local press had obviously heard rumours that management intended to settle scores. The *Dunstan Times* urged: 'the mine manager [should] "let bygones be bygones", and take on the ringleaders of the late strike and those who were instrumental in keeping the strike alive, and otherwise bring about the pleasant state that existed before the strike occurred,' and the *Argus* 'hoped that both managers and men will now "bury the hatchet," and work together in the harmony the presence of which in the past has contributed so greatly to the prosperity of the Cromwell Company's mine.'⁷⁹ But Charles Todd had a list of those he considered

⁷⁵ Charles Colclough was a former Otago Mounted Constabulary Constable who set up a store at Cardona with his brother William in 1864. In 1869 he found a very rich reef at Bendigo, and he opened a store in Logantown. In 1872 he shifted to Cromwell, where he became an accountant, agency manager, and was legal manager to many mining operations throughout the province. Though publicly anti-Chinese, he was a passionate advocate for miners and was an enthusiastic land-reform campaigner.

⁷⁶ 'Public Meeting in Cromwell', *Cromwell Argus*, 22 July 1881, p. 2.

⁷⁷ 'Bendigo', *Dunstan times*, 16 September 1881, p. 3.

⁷⁸ 'The Mines', *Otago Witness*, 27 August 1881, p. 10.

⁷⁹ 'Bendigo', *Dunstan Times*, 26 August 1881, p. 2; 'Mining', *Cromwell Argus*, 23 August 1881, p. 3.

troublesome, and reports emerged that several of the strike leaders were refused their positions. Brown's *Argus* was indignant:

Had the men foreseen the action of the management they would have determined only to go in to work as a body, as they went out; but trusting to the honour of their employers they individually sought re-employment, with the result as above stated. It is to be hoped the directors will see fit to instruct the mine manager to withdraw the embargo placed upon the men who are now locked out.⁸⁰

However, the miners' will to battle on was broken, and in ones and twos they came to management to discover their fate, with some allowed to resume work and others turned away. The last blast in the war of invective came in correspondence published in the *Dunstan Times*, revealing the deep wounds wrought by the dispute:

I am now well stricken in years, but I have never witnessed such cruelty and oppression and as the late strike revealed. The most wanton acts of cruelty were resorted to by the company's representatives here to make the miners succumb.

The demolition of their houses, because they stood on the company's leases, was an act which, to the sake of common humanity, I hope may stand alone forever. But after the poor men have built themselves other tenements, and hope that they might get employment after strike terminated, most of them have been doomed to disappointment, for they have been refused work, while men of non-mining experience – alias turf-miners – have taken their places Now if there is one place in New Zealand where kindly feeling should exist between employer and employed, that place is Bendigo. This has always been the case heretofore, and the company has reaped the benefit thereof. But where – ah! where? – are the principles and consciences of the men who could act so unfairly towards their fellow men?⁸¹

The letter-writer signed off with a dire prediction about the future of the company, 'I assert that the Cromwell Company will never recover the loss sustained and the removal of men from their employee whose equals cannot be caught in New Zealand.'⁸²

His prophecy proved remarkably accurate. Returns fell and gold production was relatively low in 1882 and 1883, with what became a very lean operation focused on getting out payable stone wherever it could be found. This was created the problem, as it had in 1880, of a focus on remunerative stone without a simultaneous programme of dead work to open up new areas for future development.⁸³ The result was a pinching out of payable ore and a workforce that could not be paid. The directors watched the value of their shares plummet, with one parcel valued at £1120 when used as commercial security in 1882 admitted to be

⁸⁰ 'Local and General', *Cromwell Argus*, quoted in the *Otago Witness*, 10 September 1881, p. 21.

⁸¹ 'Bendigo', *Dunstan Times*, 16 September 1881, p. 3.

⁸² Correspondence, *Dunstan Times*, 16 September 1881, p. 3.

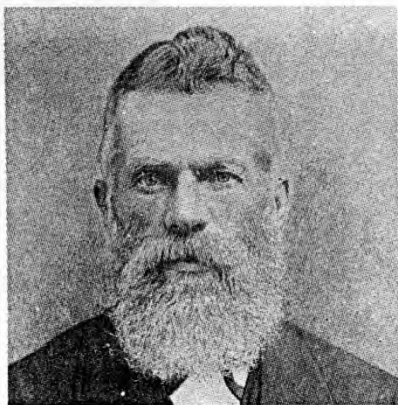
⁸³ 'The Cromwell Company', *Otago Witness*, 10 May 1884, p. 23.

worth 'a few shillings at the present time' in January 1884, and the company went into receivership.⁸⁴ When it was sold in December 1884, observers were stunned to see the plant, lease, water rights and races, mine and buildings knocked down to another Dunedin investment syndicate for a mere £1075, or less than the cost of a second-hand five-head quartz battery.⁸⁵

The purchasers were gratified by their purchase, especially when it was revealed that the skeleton staff kept on as the mine was sold had found a new shoot on the reef which promised three ounces per ton.⁸⁶ It seemed like a degree of mining karma was at work for the previous directors who had acted so harshly.

Charles Todd

The public face of the Cromwell Company in the dispute was Charles Todd. He stared down angry miners protesting their pay cut, delivered demands for the demolition of their houses and after the strike, turned away the ringleaders. He was awarded a pay rise of 10s in recognition of his services, which might not have been too inflammatory had he not imprudently boasted of his employer's largesse in the hearing of his former employees.⁸⁷



PIONEER
Charles Todd
b. 1836 — d. 1892

FIGURE 8.5 Charles Todd. Photograph courtesy of John Todd, Chairman of the Todd Corporation of New Zealand. Used with permission.

⁸⁴ In Bankruptcy, *Otago Daily Times*, 24 January 1884, p. 2; 'The Cromwell Company', *Otago Witness*, 10 May 1884, p. 23.

⁸⁵ 'Mining – The Cromwell Mine', *Otago Daily Times*, 4 December 1884, p. 2.

⁸⁶ 'The New Cromwell Quartz Mining Company', *Otago Witness*, 27 December 1884, p. 24.

⁸⁷ 'Bendigo', *Dunstan Times*, 16 September 1881, p. 2.

But was Todd, the man who seems to be the villain of the strike, really the one to blame for all the events at Bendigo in that winter of 1881? Two events would suggest that such a conclusion is facile: the first was Todd's vigorous advocacy for the establishment of a Miners' Accident Fund in connection with the Company. At his initiative, and with the support of chairman Charles Reeves and the recommendation of fellow director Robert Haworth, this fund was established in January 1880 with a £50 donation from the company, the miners contributing sixpence per week out of their wages to maintain and grow this total.⁸⁸ The second example occurred in 1885 after G.P. Hilton, 'a capable mining and mechanical engineer,' from Thames was appointed to manage the Cromwell Company mine following Todd's resignation.⁸⁹

In August of 1885 Hilton was in the Warden's Court, defending his decision to demote a miner from 'practical man' to trucker, expressing in his defence that 'there had been a very indifferent class of men in the employ of the old Cromwell Company [and] he found much difficulty in getting the class of men he required.'⁹⁰ A furious Todd responded in print: 'In justice to the miners who worked for the old company when I was in charge, I cannot allow such a statement to go abroad without contradicting it. I state openly that they were a lot of good practical men, and able to do their duty.'⁹¹ Such passion seems incongruous, given the events of four years earlier. His duties were clear: carry out the wishes of the directors who evidently played a more active, executive-style role in the company than modern equivalents would.

Notwithstanding this, it is clear that Todd was not far removed from the directors in the dispute. Firstly, wearing a revolver and requesting a police presence was, even given the receipt of the threatening note, extreme. Additionally Todd's decision to refuse employment to strike leaders when work resumed appears to have been his own initiative, and thirdly in January 1882 he arbitrarily dismissed an employee, merely for supporting a politician he disapproved of and reportedly 'seemed very anxious to make an exhibition of himself in his unbridled fury' as Todd ordered the man to put his hand down in a public meeting at Bendigo.⁹²

⁸⁸ 'Cromwell Quartz Mining Company', *Otago Daily Times*, 15 January 1880, Supplement, p. 1.

⁸⁹ 'Mining', *Otago Witness*, 21 March 1885, p. 13.

⁹⁰ Warden's Court, *Cromwell Argus*, 25 August 1885, p. 4.

⁹¹ Correspondence, *Cromwell Argus*, 22 September 1885, p. 4.

⁹² 'Our Bendigo Correspondent', *Dunstan Times*, 13 January 1882, p. 4.

Dunedin Capitalists

With Thomas Logan leaving for Australia and Cromwell Hotelier George Wellington Goodger selling down his shareholding, the shareholders of the Cromwell Quartz Mining Company Limited were largely Dunedin-based men who hoped that the spectacular returns that had made the Bendigo mine famous would return as the mine was developed in depth. No comprehensive list of the investors who were involved with the company during 1876-84 exists, but a survey of the half-yearly reports and annual meetings yields a representative list of the men who were involved.⁹³

James Mackay built bridges, waterworks, harbour facilities and railway lines throughout Otago,⁹⁴ frequently in partnership with prominent contractor David Proudfoot.⁹⁵ Cromwell Company pioneer shareholder Thomas Logan knew Mackay in Victoria and in 1879 they worked together on the Kartigi railway contract in South Otago, but the relationship ended in a bitter dispute.⁹⁶ Brothers George and Thomas Hirst Dodson were hoteliers; George owned the Provincial in Port Chalmers and Thomas the Empire in Dunedin.⁹⁷ Thomas Dodson was also a director, shareholder and promoter of the 'Main Lode' quartz mine at Macetown⁹⁸ and several other mining companies⁹⁹ and was prominent in the Otago Agricultural Association,¹⁰⁰ although the diminution in the value of his investments saw him bankrupted in 1884¹⁰¹ and again in 1886. Robert Alexander Low arrived in Dunedin in 1862, starting Heymanson & Low, Bootmakers and Importers in 1866 after four years spent as the agent for a Melbourne footwear firm. He was a substantial lender of mortgages, became a financial partner in George Esther's General Grocers, Wine and Spirit Merchants Company and was a director of several other companies, including the National Insurance Company¹⁰² and Kempthorne, Prosser's New Zealand Drug Company.¹⁰³ Low was actively

⁹³ See *Cromwell Argus*, 1 February 1876, p. 3; 13 February 1877, p. 3; 20 August 1878, p. 3; *Otago Daily Times*, 15 January 1880, p. 8; *Cromwell Argus*, 20 July 1880, p. 3; *Otago Witness*, 6 September 1884, p. 14, and others.

⁹⁴ Advertisements, *Otago Daily Times*, 25 December 1876, p. 3; 'Local News', *Otago Daily Times*, 21 October 1879, p. 3.

⁹⁵ Obituary, *Otago Daily Times*, 4 November 1899, p. 4.

⁹⁶ Supreme Court – Civil Sittings, Thomas Logan v. James Mackay, *Otago Daily Times*, 21 October 1879, p. 3.

⁹⁷ Licensing Court, *Otago Daily Times*, 7 June 1876, p. 3.

⁹⁸ 'Mining', *Otago Daily Times*, 16 December 1879, p. 1.

⁹⁹ In Bankruptcy, *Otago Daily Times*, 7 April 1884, p. 4.

¹⁰⁰ 'Agricultural', *Otago Daily Times*, 3 March 1880, p. 3.

¹⁰¹ In Bankruptcy, *Otago Daily Times*, 7 April 1884, p. 4; In Bankruptcy, *Otago Daily Times*, 4 December 1886, p. 2.

¹⁰² Gordon Parry, *Underwriting Adventure: the National Insurance Company of New Zealand*, (Dunedin: McIndoe, 1973), p. 201.

involved in the Bendigo mine, visiting regularly and writing reports for the other directors, although he died six weeks before the strike.¹⁰⁴ Henry North and Arthur Scoullar¹⁰⁵ came to Otago from mining at Ballarat Victoria in 1862, worked as miners at the Dunstan, investing their earnings to establish their warehousing, furniture and joinery business in 1863.¹⁰⁶ Both men were directors of the Standard Insurance Company¹⁰⁷, the Dunedin Gold-dredging Company¹⁰⁸, the Deep Valley West Quartz Mining Company at the Serpentine¹⁰⁹ and several other mining concerns. Scoullar was a prominent Christian leader, founding the Young Men's Christian Association in Dunedin,¹¹⁰ and Olssen notes his prominence in the Roslyn Presbyterian Church where many of his employees also worshipped.¹¹¹ North retired from the firm in 1880, investing in enterprises from quartz claims to dredging companies and insurance to coal¹¹² and in 1896 organised the Dunedin campaign to raise funds for the Brunner Mine Disaster Relief Fund. In the mid-1890s he gained a reputation for robust advocacy of "fair play" on the board of the Westport Coal Company¹¹³.

Irish-born Charles Stephen Reeves arrived in Dunedin from Geelong in 1863, where he owned a cordial factory before he established a practice as an accountant and commission agent with his son.¹¹⁴ He served as a member of the Provincial Council until its abolition in 1876, after which he was elected mayor of Dunedin for two years.¹¹⁵ A director of many companies, he was the chairman of the Cromwell Company in 1881. Dundee-born Keith Ramsay arrived in Dunedin in 1862, where he went into business as a shipping agent and ship owner.¹¹⁶ A Dunedin city councillor in 1871 to 1873 and mayor in 1874, he was a pioneer

¹⁰³ Resident Magistrate's Court, *Otago Daily Times*, 15 December 1885, p. 4; Advertisements, *Otago Daily Times*, 23 May 1881, p. 2; Advertisements, *Otago Daily Times*, 24 March 1882, p. 1.

¹⁰⁴ 'Cromwell Quartz Mining Company', *Otago Daily Times*, 15 January 1881, p. 1; Death notice: *Otago Daily Times*, 23 May 1881, p. 2.

¹⁰⁵ Spelled 'Scoullar' sometimes, which confuses the name with two other traders in Dunedin in the 1870s.

¹⁰⁶ 'Scoullar and Chisolm', *The Cyclopaedia of New Zealand* [Vol. 4, Otago & Southland Provincial Districts] (Christchurch: The Cyclopaedia Company Limited, 1905), pp. 313-4; Advertisements, *Otago Daily Times*, 15 October 1869, p. 2; 22 October 1874, p. 3 and many others; Obituary, *Otago Daily Times*, 5 July 1899, p. 6.

¹⁰⁷ 'The Standard Insurance Company', *Otago Daily Times*, 9 March 1880, p. 3.

¹⁰⁸ 'Dunedin Gold-Dredging Company (Limited)', *Otago Daily Times*, 26 August 1881, p. 3.

¹⁰⁹ 'Prospectus, Deep Valley West QMC (Limited) of Serpentine', *Otago Daily Times*, 7 April 1882, p. 1.

¹¹⁰ 'The Dunedin Young Men's Christian Association', *Otago Daily Times*, 9 August 1877, p. 3.

¹¹¹ Olssen, *Otago*, p. 122.

¹¹² Advertisements, *Otago Daily Times*, 18 August 1880, p. 3; 'Wetherstones Cement Gold-Mining Company', *Otago Daily Times*, 13 October 1880, p. 2; 'Switzers Freehold Sluicing Company', *Otago Daily Times*, 3 June 1881, p. 4; 'Business, The Standard Insurance Company', *Otago Daily Times*, 3 March 1896, p. 4 and many others.

¹¹³ 'Company Reports', *Otago Daily Times*, 31 March 1896, p. 3; 11 February 1897, p. 3.

¹¹⁴ 'Switzers Freehold Gold Mining Company Limited, Prospectus', *Tuapeka Times*, 11 April 1874, p. 4.

¹¹⁵ 'Ex-Mayors (of Dunedin)', C.S.Reeves, *The Cyclopaedia of New Zealand*, Vol. 4, p. 103.

¹¹⁶ 'Death of Mr Keith Ramsay', *Otago Witness*, May 9, 1906, p. 4; *The Cyclopaedia of New Zealand* Vol. 4, p. 275.

shareholder of the National Insurance Company, would become a key shareholder in the Westport Coal Company with Denniston, Hay, Sinclair and Miller in the mid-1880s and he served as chairman of the Otago Stock Exchange, chairman of Perpetual Trustees and was vice-president of the Dunedin Savings Bank.¹¹⁷ Abraham Solomon and Robert Haworth were Dunedin lawyers.¹¹⁸ Russian Poland-born trader Solomon Nashelski was a grocer who operated stores in Dunedin and Christchurch who seems to have made few other investments.¹¹⁹ Joseph Frederick Watson and Edmund Edward Colston Quick were the two most prominent sharebrokers in Dunedin. Quick, as well as developing an extensive personal investment portfolio, was a booster involved in many land subdivisions and farm transactions around Dunedin, whereas Watson began business in Dunedin as Joseph Watson and Sons, Importers, which later expanded to include sharebroking.¹²⁰ Watson set up, invested in or brokered many mining, insurance and land development businesses across New Zealand from his Dunedin office, and his regular mining updates from reports telegraphed from the Otago, Reefton, West Coast and Thames fields were a daily feature in the *Otago Daily Times* throughout the 1880s. Watson is an enigma given the director's actions a year later, because his name appears on several published lists of Dunedin people donating to the Irish Distress Relief Fund throughout 1880.¹²¹ Neil Joseph Bruce McGregor was the first farmer on the Taieri Plain in 1839. He was described as "an active philanthropist to Catholic causes in Otago" and appears to have made the Cromwell Company stake his only mining investment.¹²²

With the possible exception of Nashelski, McGregor and Solomon, the shareholders of the Cromwell Company were some of the leading players in the Otago economy of the 1870s and early 1880s, almost all were active supporting local politicians¹²³ and most were philanthropists of institutions like the Otago University Reference Library Fund.¹²⁴ They

¹¹⁷ 'Westport Coal Company Ltd', *The Cyclopaedia of New Zealand* Vol. 4., p. 312.

¹¹⁸ Advertisements, *Otago Daily Times*, 28 April 1888, p. 2; Advertisements, 12 June 1872, p. 2.

¹¹⁹ Advertisements, *Star*, 6 May 1890, p. 4.

¹²⁰ Advertisements, *Otago Daily Times*, 7 September 1867, p. 5.

¹²¹ Irish Distress Relief Fund, *Otago Daily Times*, 15 April 1880, p. 3 and others.

¹²² Obituary, *NZ Tablet*, 13 March 1891, p. 15.

¹²³ Low was a supporter of Alexander McMaster (*Otago Witness*, 11 May 1861, p. 7) and Thomas Dick (*Otago Daily Times*, 11 February 1867, p. 2) The Dodson brothers, Mackay and Watson worked with Thomas Dick, John Hyde Harris and David Proudfoot to support the electoral activities of W.H.Reynolds, MHR (*Otago Daily Times*, 4 November 1865, p. 1; 14 February 1879, p. 6); Watson and Mackay supported Vogel (*Otago Daily Times*, 18 February 1867, p. 1; 30 December 1875, p. 2) The names of most shareholders also appears on requisition or supporter lists for Henry Driver, William Larnach, James Macandrew and Robert Stout in election campaigns throughout the 1870s and 1880s.

¹²⁴ 'The Otago University Reference Library Fund', *Otago Daily Times*, 25 November 1872, p. 3.

were members of the Dunedin Chamber of Commerce¹²⁵, early members of the Dunedin Club¹²⁶ and in several cases, were in the same lodge.¹²⁷ They sat at the board table of major companies with other business leaders of Dunedin, particularly The National Fire and Marine Insurance Company of New Zealand (Low, Reeves, Scoullar, Ramsay and Mackay),¹²⁸ the Colonial Bank (North, Ramsay, Reeves, Howarth and McGregor)¹²⁹ and others including the Waimea Plains Railway Company,¹³⁰ Guthrie and Larach's New Zealand Timber and Woodware Factories¹³¹ and mining companies such as the Wetherstones Cement Gold-Mining Company¹³², the Waitahuna Copper Mining Company¹³³, and many more, emerging as what Erik Olssen called 'a close-knit... economic and social elite'.¹³⁴

These directors offer a confusing farrago of self-made men, former miners, 'old identity' (pre-gold rush) money and opportunists. Their commitment to Dunedin's social, religious and educational institutions, plus the activities of some in raising money for the Brunner Mine Disaster, Irish fundraising and work to support George Fenwick's anti-sweating campaign in the late 1880s makes their activities during the Bendigo strike of 1881 a perplexing puzzle.

Dunedin 1860-1881

These investors had had a tumultuous ride in the Dunedin economy. They shared in the gold boom of 1861-3¹³⁵, weathered the storms of the mid-1860s as Marlborough and West Coast rushes siphoned off miners, investment capital and business¹³⁶ then enjoyed the wool-led upturn of 1872-78.¹³⁷ The province was celebrated as an economic powerhouse, with exports

¹²⁵ A list of members published in 1879 has only Nashelski, McGregor and Solomon missing. See 'Chamber of Commerce', *Otago Daily Times*, 4 July 1879, p. 2.

¹²⁶ William Downie Stewart, *Brief History of the Dunedin Club (otherwise known as Fernhill Club)*, Dunedin: Coulls Somerville Wilkie, 1948), p. 30; Gordon Parry, *Tradition and Change – the First 150 Years of the Dunedin Club*, (Dunedin: The Dunedin Club, 2008), pp. 31-2. Published lists for membership of the Dunedin Club for 1863 and 1875 include Low, Howarth, McGregor, Thomas Dodson, Quick, Reeves, Ramsay, North and Watson.

¹²⁷ Olssen, *Otago*, p. 76

¹²⁸ 'Prospectus', *Otago Daily Times*, 26 August 1873, p. 3.

¹²⁹ 'A New Bank', *Otago Daily Times*, 5 May 1874, p. 3.

¹³⁰ 'Prospectus', *Otago Daily Times*, 12 June 1878, p. 1.

¹³¹ Advertisements, *Otago Daily Times*, 17 April 1877, p. 4.

¹³² 'Wetherstones Cement GMC', *Otago Daily Times*, 13 October 1880, p. 2.

¹³³ 'Waitahuna Copper Mining Company Ltd', *Otago Daily Times*, 7 May 1881, p. 1.

¹³⁴ Olssen, *Otago*, p. 70.

¹³⁵ Olssen, *Otago*, pp. 66-7.

¹³⁶ McLintock, *Otago*, pp. 471-2.

¹³⁷ M.F. Lloyd Prichard, *An Economic History of New Zealand*, (Auckland: Collins, 1970), pp. 112, 114, 161.

valued in excess of Auckland and Canterbury combined which buoyed the fortunes of Dunedin runholders, stock and station agents, shippers and financiers.¹³⁸

Dunedin in the 1870s was the place and period when significant new companies began and commercial dynasties were launched, like the National Fire & Marine Insurance Company (1873),¹³⁹ Colonial Bank (1873),¹⁴⁰ J. Rattray and Son Limited (1874),¹⁴¹ Standard & Marine Insurance Company (1874),¹⁴² Union Steam Ship Company (1875),¹⁴³ James Speight and Company (1876),¹⁴⁴ Arthur Ellis and Company (1877),¹⁴⁵ Donald Reid and Company (1878),¹⁴⁶ Westport Colliery Company (1878),¹⁴⁷ and Kempthorne, Prosser & Company's New Zealand Drug Company (1879).¹⁴⁸ The urban landscape was transformed by impressive buildings that elevated the settlement from provincial centre to a city, with the building of Otago Boys' High School, the Girls' High School, Customs House, the Exchange, Telegraph Office (1874), Wain's Hotel (1878) and the University buildings (1878), while local boosters promoted land developments to produce new suburbs like Maori Hill, Green Island, Musselburgh and South Dunedin.¹⁴⁹

In the early 1870s, the businessmen of Dunedin were involved in a case where they championed the rights of workers. The Police faced a cut in wages which they were chagrined to learn was not matched by similar cuts for prison warders. They struck and were instantly dismissed "for insubordination" by the Provincial Council.¹⁵⁰ A group of the city's

¹³⁸ Fergus R.J. Sinclair, *High Street Quaking – A History of Dunedin's Inner Circle*, (PhD diss., University of Otago, 1996), p. 17. John Angus, J. *City and Country*, pp. 26-28, Olssen, *Otago*, pp. 69, 71-2, 79.

¹³⁹ Advertisements, *Press*, 18 September 1873, p. 3.

¹⁴⁰ Angus, *City and Country*, Part 2, table 1:20, p. 23.

¹⁴¹ 'James Rattray and Son', *The Cyclopaedia of New Zealand* Vol. 4, p. 353.

¹⁴² Alan Henderson. 'Insurance - Early fire and general insurance', *Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand*, updated 4-Mar-10 URL: <http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/insurance/2> accessed 12 August 2012.

¹⁴³ 'Union Steam Ship Company flag', URL: <http://www.nzhistory.net.nz/media/photo/union-steamship-company-flag>, (Ministry for Culture and Heritage), updated 30-Aug-2012 accessed 3 November 2012.

¹⁴⁴ Donald Gordon. 'Speight, Charles - Biography', from the Dictionary of New Zealand Biography. *Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand*, updated 1-Sep-10 URL: <http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/biographies/3s29/1> accessed 3 November 2012.

¹⁴⁵ George Maurice Kelly, *Mill in the Valley: A Centennial History of Arthur Ellis and Company* (Dunedin: Arthur Ellis and Company Limited, 1977), p. 6.

¹⁴⁶ John H. Angus. 'Reid, Donald - Biography', from the Dictionary of New Zealand Biography. *Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand*, updated 1-Sep-10 URL: <http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/biographies/2r13/1> accessed 3 November 2012.

¹⁴⁷ Solid Energy, Corporate Website, 'Early History: Buller', <http://solidenergy.co.nz/index.cfm/1,194,0,49.html> accessed 5 November 2012.

¹⁴⁸ Gordon Parry. 'Kempthorne, Thomas Whitelock - Biography', from the Dictionary of New Zealand Biography. *Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand*, updated 1-Sep-10. URL: <http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/biographies/1k8/1>, accessed 3 November 2012.

¹⁴⁹ McDonald, K.C., *City of Dunedin – a Century of Civic Enterprise* (Dunedin: Dunedin City Corporation, 1965), 139; Olssen, *Otago*, pp. 66-70.

¹⁵⁰ 'Local', *Otago Daily Times*, 30 May 1872, p. 2.

foremost businessmen led by the mayor and including Joseph Watson, Charles Reeves, James Scoullar, Robert Haworth, Keith Ramsay, (all Cromwell Company directors in 1881), plus William Gregg, Henry Driver, Evan Prosser, William Larnach, Robert Glendining and Hugh M'Neill sought to intercede on their behalf, even expressing the dismissed policemen's apology for 'acting wrongly in striking.'¹⁵¹ Their mission failed, but it showed empathy for workers which is belied by the events of 1881.

The Economic Environment

Salmond suggests that Otago's prosperity insulated Dunedin's financial elite from the worst effects of the slump of the late 1870s,¹⁵² but it must have had some influences on the directors. This 'Long Depression,' which is generally agreed to have its beginning in the 1878 collapse of the City of Glasgow Bank exposing a New Zealand economy 'saturated with debt,'¹⁵³ saw the collapse of land speculation, a near-governmental bankruptcy in 1879, a severe deterioration in the wool price, glut in sheep numbers, increasing predations from the rabbit plague, surging urban unemployment and continued agitation for land reform.¹⁵⁴ McAloon notes that even farmers who were well placed to ride out the effects of this slump felt pressure and notes the prevalence of opinion that growing militancy in the labour movement was held by some contemporary commentators to be contributing to the unemployment statistics.¹⁵⁵

The 10 shillings per week workers' paradise of the booming Otago economy that Oxfordshire trade union leader Christopher Holloway¹⁵⁶ found when he visited in 1874¹⁵⁷ had slipped, and trade guilds and workers' associations were under pressure to accept wage cuts and increasing levels of unemployment.¹⁵⁸ Employers utilised more child labour and began the practice of contracting out piecework by women which would eventually lead to the

¹⁵¹ 'Local', *Otago Daily Times*, 5 June 1872, p. 4.

¹⁵² Salmond, *Labour's Pioneering Days*, p. 29.

¹⁵³ W.J. (Jim) Gardner, 'A Colonial Economy', in *The Oxford History of New Zealand*, 2nd Ed, ed. Geoffrey Rice, (Auckland, Oxford UP, 1992), p. 75.

¹⁵⁴ McAloon, 126, 43, 101; Alexander McClintock, *The History of Otago*, (Dunedin: Otago Centennial Historical Publications, 1949), pp. 635 – 637, 652; Jeanine Graham 'Settler Society' in *The Oxford History of New Zealand*, 2nd Ed, ed. Geoffrey Rice, pp. 138 – 140.

¹⁵⁵ McAloon, pp. 46, 101.

¹⁵⁶ Jock Phillips. 'History of immigration - The great migration: 1871 to 1885', Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand, updated 13-Jul-12 URL: <http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/history-of-immigration/page-8> accessed November 6, 2012.

¹⁵⁷ Rollo Arnold, *The Farthest Promised Land – English Villagers, New Zealand Immigrants of the 1870s*, (Wellington: Victoria UP, 1981), p. 80.

¹⁵⁸ Gardner, pp. 75 – 76.

problems identified by the 'Sweating Commission,' whilst simultaneously striving to hold the growing union movement at bay.¹⁵⁹

The location of the strike on the timeline of the development of labour collectivism in New Zealand possibly offers some answers for the reactions of the investors in the Cromwell Company to their employees' strike.

The Growing Spectre of Worker Movements

A series of legislative moves foreshadowed growing labour collectivisation, beginning with the 1871 Trades Union Act in Britain with similar legislation in New South Wales in 1876 and in New Zealand in 1878.¹⁶⁰ There were moves afoot to unionise workers in Australia on the pattern developed in America and Britain, and the importation of this to New Zealand had an air of inevitability to it. More than just labour issues were shared; a wide swathe of institutional sharing marked the relationships of the two countries, as Mein Smith and Hempenstall note: 'whatever singular historical paths Australia and New Zealand took, these are undercut by continuing exchanges at levels of institutional organisation and public policy, and through mutual professional, intellectual and cultural influences.'¹⁶¹ Labour organisation was coming, and that, for Otago's employers and capitalists, was very clear.

The change to legislative respectability for unions and regular international news reports meant that there was a widely-held perception that industrial conflicts were a growing phenomenon world-wide, and throughout the 1870s the *Otago Daily Times* offered a steady diet of strikes, lockouts and stoppages from across the globe, together with discussion of local disputes like the Shearers' Association campaign for '£1 per 100 sheep'¹⁶² which simmered throughout the decade. A series of overseas strikes, including a protracted miner's strike in 1879 at George Lansell's gold mines at Bendigo in Victoria and news reports highlighting increasingly bitter workplace battles across the world must have put them on their guard.¹⁶³

In 1879 the Dunedin investors who owned the Westport Colliery Company at Denniston tried to put off the inexorable progress of unionism by explicitly banning their

¹⁵⁹ Nicky Murray, *A History of Apprenticeship in New Zealand*, (Master's Thesis, Lincoln University, 2001), p. 42.

¹⁶⁰ Keating, p. 24.

¹⁶¹ Philippa Mein Smith and Peter Hempenstall, 'Australia and New Zealand: Turning Shared Pasts into a Shared History', *History Compass* 1 (2003) AU 031, p. 7.

¹⁶² John E. Martin, 'The Struggle for £1. The Emergence of the Shearers' Union in the 1870s', *The New Zealand Journal of History*, 24, No. 1, 1990, pp.58-60.

¹⁶³ Fahey, p. 75.

employment agents from engaging British miners with a ‘local preaching’ (Mining Chapel) or union organising background.¹⁶⁴ These agents famously achieved the reverse of these aims, bringing in a group which almost entirely comprised such men and included John Lomas, although it would be four years before Lomas was allowed to work at Denniston.¹⁶⁵ Additionally, industrial action like the short-lived national strike by Post Office Telegraph operators in January, 1880¹⁶⁶ and the Shag Point Colliery miners in the same year¹⁶⁷ served as sentinel events, warning of troubles to come.

Given the brief biographies of the investors in the Cromwell Company and my discussion of the booming economy they were immersed in, the actions of these directors in evicting employees from their own homes still appears an aberration. But apart from guessing that they were motivated by fear of militant workers using their collective power to strip away the investors’ hard-earned wealth, or surmising a form of Emile Durkheim’s *anomie*, where the sociopathic moral-less pursuit of profit,¹⁶⁸ together with the remoteness from Bendigo, three day’s journey away sheltered them from the consequences of their actions, their motives remain a mystery. The fact that their actions were not repeated by them or anyone else, anywhere in New Zealand would suggest that they did not regard these actions as something to re-visit in future disputes.

The Ruined Dwelling

The enduring imagery of the strike, particularly in the memories of Cromwell residents today, focuses on the destruction of the houses of Bendigo miners as they battled the wage cut proposed by the employers. Perhaps nothing better illustrates the extremes of passion such management tactics generates than the house ruin near the north lode shaft.

This ruin, which was described in the introduction to this chapter, is testament to the events of 1881. The house, which would have taken a concerted effort to wreck, must have

¹⁶⁴ Richardson, p. 60.

¹⁶⁵ ‘Introduction of Coal-Miners for the Westport Colliery Company (Limited)’, (Correspondence Relative to the) presented to both Houses of the General Assembly, by W. Rolleston, Minister for Immigration, printed in the *Appendices to the Journals of the House of Representatives*, Section D-4, 1880, (Wellington: Government Printer, 1880), p. 2.

¹⁶⁶ Herbert Roth, *Trade Unions in New Zealand*, (Wellington: Reed, 1973), p. 8.

¹⁶⁷ Advertisements, *Otago Daily Times*, 22 March 1880, 1; ‘Shag Point Coal’, 24 June 1880, p. 2.

¹⁶⁸ Eva Tsahuridu, ‘Anomie and Ethics at Work’. *Journal of Business Ethics* 69, 2006, pp. 163-174.

been a desirable dwelling, given its substantial construction, excellent outlook, shelter from the wind, distance from other dwellings and proximity to the main mine workings.

So why was it taken down? Examination of A.R. MacKay's 1876 map clearly shows this as a 'house and garden' at this location, just within the Cromwell Company Number Two lease boundary.¹⁶⁹ It is possible that the owner of this well-built, substantial house was faced with the possibility that he would move the expensive timbers, roofing iron, windows and chattels, only to watch someone - maybe even a manager - move in to the newly-repaired house. Given the determined effort to erase the cottage, it is puzzling that one wall was left standing. The rest of the house would have been a big job to deconstruct, but the strikers left this, maybe as a memorial to the company's actions there, to remind miners walking up from the houses at Logantown and down from the cottages of Welshtown as they headed to the main shaft that the company had the capacity to take such actions against them.

The clearances and wrecking of homes was never to be repeated in New Zealand although in 1883, in what was their first conflict with John Lomas' Denniston Miners' Mutual Protection Society, directors of the Westport Colliery Company evicted striking miners from their company-owned houses at Denniston.¹⁷⁰ In the only truly equivalent action in Australasia involving miners' own houses, coal miners with dwellings on the Australian Agricultural Coal Company's lease at Minmi, New South Wales were evicted from these following a dispute in 1895.¹⁷¹ The eviction from and destruction of the miner's houses at Bendigo, Otago therefore makes the strike unique in New Zealand's Labour History.

Conclusion

The Bendigo miners' strike of 1881 emerges as worthy of further investigation into its place and importance in terms of it being one of first occasions when Dunedin capitalists faced down the serious threat of a determined group of workers who united in a prolonged fight to combat their employers' decisions over pay rates, especially in light of the development of unionism in New Zealand, the events of the 1890 Maritime dispute and the electoral change of the late 1880s which saw a transformation of the political landscape.

¹⁶⁹ A.R. Mackay, *Bendigo Quartz Mining Claims Survey 1876*, (Land Information NZ file S2086 Mining).

¹⁷⁰ Richardson, p. 64.

¹⁷¹ John William Turner, 'An Incident at Minmi, 1895', *Labour History*, No. 6, May, 1964, p. 5.

But Bendigo, 1881 has an enduring significance in its utterly unique place as the only location in New Zealand where striking miners were evicted from their own homes. Its suppressed history deserves to be re-visited and exposed, 132 years after the tumultuous events. The remains of houses at the Bendigo Historic Reserve which were ruined in the course of the events of 1881 stand as sentinel to and testimonials of what happened in this isolated place and deserve closer examination now.

But from evil cometh good
Thus I wish it understood
That our heads are not all wood,
On the strike.

We've been stubborn, but we see
That a strike brings misery
Upon this we all agree
On the strike.

Anon¹⁷²

¹⁷² Anon., 'The Wail of the Striker'. *Cromwell Argus*, July 26 1881, p. 4.

Chapter 9 – Merchants of the Goldfields

Big Poll the Grogseller gets up every day,
 And her small rowdy tent sweeps out;
 She's turning in plenty of tin people say,
 For she knows what she's about.
 Charles R. Thatcher¹

The Wealthy of the Otago Gold Rush

As I have found with much of the story of the Central Otago gold rush, a persistent, long-cherished and widely-believed myth surrounds and informs opinions on the merchants of that era. This myth is expressed in various ways, but each essentially states that the only people to profit from the gold rush were the hoteliers, sly-groggers and storekeepers, not the miners.

The belief that only merchants benefited from the gold rush appears on panels in regional museums and is expressed at events in the province, from wine tastings to heritage tours. When scrutiny of the businesses operating at the goldfield town of Bendigo in Otago revealed that nearly all had gone bankrupt, this was the spur for me to take a closer look at the idea.

The early legends of free-spending miners shouting champagne for all to celebrate spectacular finds certainly happened ('Champagne Gully' in the Cromwell Gorge is a lasting testament to this), and no goldfields hotelier was foolish enough to duck the opportunity to profit from such extravagance. But the behaviour of celebratory miners was not coerced or the product of trickery, nor did it persist as the new fields became civilised by authorities, the presence of women² and the creation of permanent towns and villages.

¹ Charles R. Thatcher, 'Poll the Grogseller' in Robert Hoskins, *Goldfield Balladeer*, (Auckland, Collins, 1977), p. 149.

² There is an entire doctorate to be written about the women in goldfields Otago. Superb work has been completed by Jennifer Dickinson with her *Picks, Pans and Petticoats: Women on the Central Otago Goldfield* (long essay, Bachelor of Arts with Honours in History, University of Otago, 1993). and Sandra Quick's '*The Colonial Helpmeet Takes a Dram: Women Participants in the Central Otago Goldfields Liquor Industry 1861 – 1901*' (Unpublished Thesis, Master of Arts in History, University of Otago, 1997). Whoever takes up the challenge to complete such a doctorate will find a remarkable story waiting to be told.

The relationship and the boundaries between miners and merchants was not as dichotomised as is widely believed. Miners became merchants; merchants became miners; miners and merchants developed mining claims together and miners relied on merchants for finance, credit and for their commercial networks and inter-business relationships. Merchants built their businesses and urban centres where the miners worked claims. The relationship between the two groups is surprisingly under-examined in goldfields historiography.

Close examination of the Central Otago goldfields merchants reveals them as a variant of the ‘number 8 wire’³ adaptive change operators of the sort which now defines part of what it is to be a New Zealander. With no forests nearby, merchants built canvas and manuka pole business premises, securing these against storms, dust and heat, and were the first to import glass, corrugated iron and pit-sawn Makarora timber to build permanent structures. They ran temporary gold-buying agencies for miners and even issued temporary currency and cheques if banks were tardy establishing a branch. Merchants sourced stock from London, Melbourne, China and Dunedin and organised carrier services to outlying areas. They provided the venture capital to invest in diverse mining schemes, but they did much more than engage in commerce. Central Otago merchants worked with miners to build community schools, athenaeums and hospitals⁴, were sworn in as Justices of the Peace, acted as temporary gold wardens and served as mayor and counsellors for the nascent towns, just as they had done in Australia.⁵ It was merchants who advocated for land reform⁶, who spoke up when gold revenues were not spent on local infrastructure and who built the towns that allowed miners to settle down and establish communities and a life in New Zealand.

The idea of poor-but-honest, free-spending-and-hearty miners exploited by a merchant class of traders makes for a good class struggle trope, but my evidence refutes such a facile conclusion. I have found that while miners were making money as fast as they could, the merchants laboured on a longer-term project, making a community in their new home.

³ Bardsley, D., ‘Rural language’, Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand, updated 1-Mar-09 URL: <http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/rural-language/1/3>.

⁴ See Olssen, E., *A History of Otago* (Dunedin: McIndoe, 1984), p. 72.

⁵ Eklund, E., *Mining Towns – Making a Living, Making a Life* (Sydney, New South Wales UP, 2012), pp. 43, 56, 112, 145, 178 and others; Lawrence, S., *Dolly’s Creek*, (Melbourne, Melbourne UP, 2000), pp. 29-30, 58-59; McGowan, B., *Dust and Dreams*, (Sydney, New South Wales UP, 2010), pp. 190-193.

⁶ Hamer, D., ‘Towns in Nineteenth Century New Zealand’, *New Zealand Journal of History* 13, 1979, 1, p.14; Brooking, T., ‘Use it or Lose it. Unravelling the Land Debate in Late Nineteenth-Century New Zealand’, *New Zealand Journal of History*, 1996, 30, 2, pp. 145-153.

‘the oft quoted shibboleth’

Historian Matthew Wright calls the idea that constructs a goldfields society of merchants made wealthy at the expense of miners ‘an oft-quoted shibboleth’.⁷ I first read of the debate around the idea in Philip Ross May’s *West Coast Gold Rushes*, when he said that storekeepers are ‘often regarded as a predatory class on the goldfields’.⁸ In the 30 years since I read May’s research, I have heard that ‘only the merchants profited’ repeated often, encountered it on websites and at goldfields heritage sites in New Zealand, California and across Australia, and found it a persistent thread in the historiography.

The idea is supported by the invocation of famous wealthy merchant names from gold rushes like Californian blue jeans inventor Levi Strauss, wagon manufacturer John Studebaker, bankers Henry Wells and William Fargo and general store owners Leland Stanford and Sam Brennan. Australians have coaching services magnate Freeman Cobb, retailer David Reid and storekeeper James Burns and shipping agent Robert Philp, while New Zealand celebrates retailer Bendix Hallenstein and brewers Speights and Kuhtze (known as ‘Coutts’ today) in Otago, and shoemaker Robert Hannah and brewer Stewart Monteith on the West Coast. All are offered as proof of the assertion that the merchants profited disproportionately to the miners they served.

This imbalanced, dichotomised merchant/mining society is not new. In 1879, Californian historian Theodore Hittell said ‘the man who did not live [on the goldfields] by actual physical toil was regarded as a sort of social excrescence’,⁹ while Dunedin lawyer Alexander Bathgate, in his account of goldfields experiences as a bank clerk in Hamiltons and Cromwell called ‘those who furnish the digger’s requirements for his sustenance or amusement’ a ‘parasitic class’.¹⁰ In his contribution to the 1933 *Cambridge history of the British Empire*, Australian Historian Jerry Portus wrote that at Bathurst, ‘the diggers’ precipitancy was the speculators opportunity’¹¹ and in Victoria ‘often the storekeepers, the smiths and the carriers made far more money than the miners’,¹² quoting Australian jurist Sir Roger Therry’s observation that ‘a penniless lollipop seller made £6000 a year by opening a

⁷ Wright, M., *Reed Illustrated History of New Zealand* (Auckland: Reed Publishing, 2004), pp.166-168.

⁸ May, P.R., *The West Coast Gold Rushes* (Christchurch: Pegasus Press, 1962), p. 281

⁹ Hittell, T.H., *History of California*, Vol. 3 (San Francisco: Stone and Co., 1879), p.174.

¹⁰ Bathgate, A., *Colonial Experiences Or Sketches of People and Places in the Province of Otago, New Zealand* (Glasgow: James Maclehose, 1874), pp.86-7.

¹¹ Portus, G.V., ‘The Gold Discoveries, 1850 – 1860’, in (Eds.) Rose, J.H., Newton, A.P., Benians, E.A., *The Cambridge History of the British Empire*, Vol. VII, Part I: Australia (Cambridge, Cambridge UP, 1933), p. 245.

¹² Portus, *The Gold Discoveries*, p. 251.

public house on the road to Ballarat'¹³. Portus, possibly reflecting his earlier theological training,¹⁴ wrote disapprovingly of diggings townships, saying that there was no lack of 'the usual social parasites in these assemblages, where demand was all the more riotous because it was backed by unaccustomed purchasing power'¹⁵ and turned to polemic with his conclusion that at the diggings,

Sinister birds of ill omen played on the foolishness of the fortunate in the despondency of the unsuccessful. Harlots, swindlers, sneak thieves, cheating gold-buyers and sly grog-sellers, all haunted the camps.¹⁶

John Condliffe wrote in the New Zealand volume of the *Cambridge History* 'the gold diggers as a body were not prosperous, but endured great hardships for little reward. As always, the chief gains were made by those who catered for their needs'.¹⁷ Portus and Condliffe influenced University of Otago's Alexander McClintock, who in his 1949 centennial *History of Otago* quoted from both and concluded that

there also congregated those who, in the legitimate pursuit of business, sought to fleece the reckless mining population whose undisciplined demand for the more doubtful commodities of commerce was sustained by an unrestricted purchasing power. Consequently in Otago, as in California and Australia, it was the merchant, the storekeeper, the carrier and the itinerant entertainer, who reaped the golden harvest.¹⁸

Recent writers like Social Historian Donald Fetherling note that 'there are stories galore of dry goods dealers who built dynasties',¹⁹ while Australian historian Robyn Annear asserts 'that the storekeepers were the most successful gold-diggers is a truism'.²⁰ New Zealand's J.H.M. Salmond highlighted the case of Peter Jeffrey who was 'typical of many intending miners who turned to the secondary occupation of storekeeping, and found greater wealth in this than in the wash pan and the cradle',²¹ while Clay and Jones' 2008 study of the California rushes 'Migrating to Riches?' drew the frequently-quoted conclusion²² that their

¹³ Terry, R., *Reminiscences of Thirty Years' Residence in New South Wales and Victoria*, 2nd Ed., (Sydney, Royal Australian Historical Society, Sydney UP, 1863), p. 371, quoted in Portus, *The Gold Discoveries*, p. 251.

¹⁴ W. G. K. Duncan, 'Portus, Garnet Vere (Jerry) (1883–1954)', *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, National Centre of Biography, Australian National University, <http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/portus-garnet-vere-jerry-8082/text14103>, accessed 19 February 2013.

¹⁵ Portus, *The Gold Discoveries*, p. 251.

¹⁶ Portus, *The Gold Discoveries*, p. 252.

¹⁷ Condliffe, J.B., 'Economic Development', in (Eds.) Rose, J.H., Newton, A.P., Benians, E.A., *The Cambridge History of the British Empire*, Vol. VII, Part II: New Zealand (Cambridge, Cambridge UP, 1933), p. 153.

¹⁸ McClintock, A.H., *The History of Otago – the Origins and Growth of the Wakefield Class Settlement*, (Dunedin, Otago Centennial Historical Publications, 1949), p. 448.

¹⁹ Fetherling, D., *The Gold Crusades* (Toronto: Toronto UP, 1997), p. 9.

²⁰ Annear, R., *Nothing But Gold* (Melbourne: Text, 1999), p. 101.

²¹ Salmond, J.H.M., *A History of Gold-Mining in New Zealand* (Wellington, Government Printer, 1963), p. 65.

²² E.g., http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/California_Gold_Rush.

results ‘support the contention of miners and historians that merchants and other service providers reaped most of the profits from mining.’²³ In *Diggers Hatters and Whores*²⁴ writer Stevan Eldred-Grigg separates miners from a ‘trading class of merchants’, by selectively quoting from Julius von Haast to pejoratively conflate them with the group Haast had separated from the businessmen: ‘the demi-monde, sharpers and idlers of every kind, resembling marauders who follow an army,’²⁵ revisiting the predatory merchant trope he canvassed nine years earlier in his *The Rich, a New Zealand History*.²⁶

The conclusions of these writers has constructed the foundations of the idea of the miner-merchant behavioural and wealth dichotomy, but much of their evidence stems from observed phenomenon in the very earliest period of each gold rush and should not be taken as indicative of long-run profitability.

‘diggers in town to spend their gold on having a good time’

Money flowed freely in new goldfields towns, creating the impression of rapidly-acquired wealth.²⁷ F.W.G. Miller said of early Queenstown, ‘seven days a week the merchants plied their trade, money changed hands over the bars and hotels and grog shanties in a continuous stream, and the streets were loud with the noise made by the diggers in town to spend their gold on having a good time’²⁸ and William Heinz said ‘the prosperity of the mining communities was measured in the number of stores and hotels in the camp or town.’²⁹

When possible, storekeepers could – and did – make windfall profits early in a rush, just as their counterparts had done in California and Australia. In September 1849 an Australian wrote from San Francisco to a friend, who published the letter in the *Launceston Examiner*: ‘H-----, a cabin passenger, who never did a day’s work in his life, a very gentlemanly fellow, worked as a day labourer on landing at 7 dollars per diem, and with the proceeds started a grocery store; he was only in business six weeks, and realised 800 dollars’.³⁰ His note from California echoed the widely-published letter writer Amos Steck,

²³ Clay, K., and Jones, R., ‘Migrating to Riches? Evidence from the California Gold Rush’, *Journal of Economic History*, 2008, 68, 4, p. 998.

²⁴ Eldred-Grigg, S. *Diggers Hatters and Whores*, pp. 43-46.

²⁵ von Haast, H.F. *Life and Times of Julius von Haast, K.C.M.G., Ph.D., D.Sc., F.R.S., Explorer, Geologist, Museum Builder*, (Wellington, Government Printer, 1948), p. 407; Eldred-Grigg, *Diggers*, pp. 43, 54.

²⁶ Eldred-Grigg, S., *The Rich, A New Zealand Story* (Auckland: Penguin, 1996), p. 41.

²⁷ Serle, G., *The Golden Age* (Melbourne, Melbourne UP, 1963), p. 218.

²⁸ Miller, F.W.G., *Golden days of Lake County* (Dunedin: Otago Centennial Publications, 1949), p. 70.

²⁹ Heinz, W.F., *Bright Fine Gold* (Wellington: Reed, 1974), p. 36.

³⁰ California (ex- *Launceston Examiner*), *Otago News*, 10 March 1850, p. 4.

who wrote ‘the men who are making the money in California, are the traders and rancheros on the lines of travel from the cities to the mines... the keepers of hotels and eating-houses, are “coining money”’,³¹ while General John C. Gilman wrote ‘a man with some means can make a fortune here quicker than to dig for it; one or two thousand invested rightly in goods in N.Y [to sell in California]... is the chance to make fortunes’.³²

Early merchants to Bathurst (NSW) were similarly opportunistic: ‘Messrs Meyers and Twaddle have commenced a store in a bark building, with an excellent prospect of success mobs are constantly arriving here, without food, money or implements.’³³ Henry Brown’s recollections of storekeeping at Bendigo (VIC) admitted that in the early days ‘business did not require any very nice calculations, the plan was usually to double and treble the Melbourne price’³⁴ and Gabriel’s Gully (NZ) storekeeper Alan Houston said ‘the first few weeks of a “new rush” is the time for traders to make money. Many have done so’.³⁵ Rueben Waite found that when he set up the first store with ‘provisions and every requisite for the diggings’ at Mawhera Quay (Greymouth, NZ) in 1864, ‘the goods were going out as fast as I could possibly sell them,’ making ‘handsome profits’.³⁶

The profitability of the first merchants to a new rush, particularly in a remote locales where they could ‘charge almost any price they choose’,³⁷ has led the public and even historians like New Zealand’s Professor James Belich³⁸, to infer a longer-term persistence in monopolistic pricing, profit levels and consequent merchant riches and is the probable source of the popular idea of merchant wealth.

In late 1862, William Jackson Barry demonstrated the profits made early in a rush when he purchased two dray-loads of flour at Lawrence (NZ) for £3 per 200lb bag and re-sold them to the desperate miners at the Dunstan for £21 10s each. The arrival of ten dray loads of flour four days later ended his monopoly as quickly as it began.³⁹ Barry later broke

³¹ *Democratic State Register* (Watertown, Wisconsin), 2 April 1850, p. 3.

³² Correspondence, *Democratic State Register*, 9 April 1850, p. 5.

³³ Bathurst, *Sydney Morning Herald*, 6 June 1851, p. 2.

³⁴ Annear, p. 101.

³⁵ Houston, A., *The Goldfields of Otago, A.H.’s Jottings, March 1865*, Hocken Library Archives, Reference PC-0216, p.15; see also Howitt, A.W., *Land, labour, And Gold: or Two Years in Victoria with Visits to Sydney and Van Diemen’s Land* (London: Longman, 1858), p. 8.

³⁶ Quoted in Preshaw, G.O., *Banking under Difficulties or Life on the Goldfields of Victoria, New South Wales and New Zealand* (Melbourne: Edwards, Dunlop & Co., 1888), p. 99.

³⁷ Sinclair, K., Mendle W.F., *Open Account: a History of the Bank of New South Wales in New Zealand 1861 – 1961*, (Wellington: Whitcombe & Tombs, 1961), p. 23.

³⁸ Belich, J., *Making Peoples – a History of the New Zealanders from Polynesian Settlement to the End of the 19th Century* (Auckland: Penguin, 1996), p. 347.

³⁹ Barry, W.J., *Past, Present, and Men of the Times* (Wellington: McKee & Gamble, 1897), p. 149.

the duopoly of Cromwell butchers by opening a butchery under the slogan ‘The Right Man in the Right Place; No Monopoly’ and using hot weather and arbitrage pricing to force competition.⁴⁰ His autobiography *Past, Present and Men of the Times*,⁴¹ details the vicissitudes of his goldfields businesses from San Francisco to Ballarat and Central Otago, featuring occasional peaks of extraordinary profit which were inevitably followed by spectacular losses, extended troughs and skirmishes with creditors and bankruptcy.

Houston qualifies his narrative of Gabriel’s storekeeping by admitting that the declaration of a new goldfield brought hard times, with the Dunstan rush nearly ruining him and in 1865, an observer of the headlong migration of (West Coast, NZ) Kaniere miners to Okarito said ‘storekeepers stand at the doorways with faces as long as their prices, and with tears in their eyes watched this end of the human tide [as] the workings which but the other day was swarming with life and industry, now by comparison, appear almost deserted.’⁴² When the Wakamarina rush failed, ‘there was a complete stampede... storekeepers moving out in the diggers’ wake. Those unable to sell their stock left it and their buildings where they stood.’⁴³ Philip May emphasised that the phenomenon of false starts were particularly ruinous: ‘duffer rushes collapsed so quickly that storekeepers could find themselves in the back-of-beyond with a fully stocked shanty and no sales to pay for the cost of packing-in and packing... some lost everything by extending credit to men they never saw again’. He detailed how steep freight charges and ‘the constant uncertainty of replenishing stocks at the river port’, plus the vagaries of dearth and glut from shipwreck and changable weather, wrought havoc on merchant finances on the Coast.⁴⁴

The Urban Centres of the Goldfields

As had happened in California, Victoria and New South Wales, wherever gold was found, urban centres emerged; when the gold faded, the towns did too. As Bruce Rosenberg put it, ‘the boom towns existed, to varying degrees, according to the momentary tides of

⁴⁰ Advertising, *Otago Daily Times*, 27 September 1864, p. 5.

⁴¹ Barry, W.J., *Past, Present, and Men of the Times* (Wellington: McKee & Gamble, 1897)

⁴² ‘Mining’, *Press*, 19 August 1865, p. 2.

⁴³ May, p. 108.

⁴⁴ May, pp. 277, 281.

anticipation, whim and rumour.⁴⁵ In *Wild Will Enderby* (1873), historian-turned-novelist Vincent Pyke wrote:

‘Gold-Fields’ townships, like Chinese citizens, undergo sundry mutations of name at successive stages of their growth. First comes the miner, “Full of strange oaths and bearded like a pard,” and bestows on his camping-place some designation often more significant than classical. Close upon his heels follow the storekeeper and the purveyor of strong drinks—licensed or otherwise. These form a street, more or less crooked, and assign a more speakable appellation to the new township. Then comes some official—policeman or what not—who, as of use and wont, makes a point of re-naming the place.’⁴⁶

Descriptions of ephemeral gold rush towns add to the idea of booming profits. Geoffrey Blainey described the gold town of Sofala (NSW) as ‘a camp of effervescent wealth’⁴⁷ and Charles Money’s first view of the Gabriel’s Gully township echoes him: ‘here were canvas and galvanized iron stores, public-houses, restaurants, shanties of all descriptions and with every conceivable name, scattered around in all directions.’

Money’s description of one store in the Tuapeka could have been located in any one of 500 rush towns around the world and twin stores are found in Bayard Taylor’s California⁴⁸, and Clacy⁴⁹ and Howitt’s⁵⁰ Victoria. It has become iconic in goldfields historiography:

a calico store, some 7 or 8 feet high, and about 10 by 12 feet in area; a few planks from old brandy and gin cases, nailed on saplings driven into the ground, formed the counter, on which were heaped the principal ingredients of a digger’s domestic requirements - viz., sides of bacon, a tub or so of butter, one or two dry cheeses, sardines, lobsters, salmon, and other potted fishes and meats, bread, tobacco, clay pipes, and piled-up boxes of Letchford’s vesta matches... the whole of this extensive warehouse was about as large as a reasonably-sized dog-kennel.⁵¹

Descriptions heavily-stocked stores like this have been taken to infer profitability of the merchants at the expense of miners. However, assertions of long-term profiteering flies in the

⁴⁵ Bruce A. Rosenberg, ‘The Folklore of the Gold Rush’, *Huntington Library Quarterly*, Vol. 44, No. 4, 1981, p. 294.

⁴⁶ Pyke, V., *Wild Will Enderby*, (R.T. Wheeler: Dunedin, 1873), p. 14.

⁴⁷ Blainey, G., *The Rush That Never Ended* (Melbourne: Melbourne UP, 1963), p. 25.

⁴⁸ Taylor, B., *Eldorado, or, Adventures in the Path of Empire: Comprising a Voyage to California, via Panama; Life in San Francisco and Monterey; Pictures of the Gold Region, and Experiences of Mexican Travel* (New York: Putnam, 1851), p. 55.

⁴⁹ Clacy, E., *A lady’s Visit to the Gold Diggings of Australia in 1852 – 53, Written on the Spot* (London: Hurst & Blackett, 1853), p. 38.

⁵⁰ Howitt, p. 11.

⁵¹ Money, C., *Knocking About in New Zealand* (Melbourne: Samuel Mullen, 1871), p. 10.

face of even the most basic of Economics principles of long run market behaviour and the unsustainability of monopolistic profits in a fully-competitive market.⁵²

Long-run patterns of trader profit

As rush towns matured, competition ensured monopolist profiteering was not sustained. Florence McKenzie said of the nine hotels in Queenstown (NZ), 'All did very well, but there was considerable competition among them,'⁵³ and Hugh Glasson observed that early Clyde (NZ) had 'bazaars and stalls lining the streets, and passers-by were continually invited to "buy now and save money" [but] once the edge was taken off their hunger, and the miners had the option of choice, they exercised that right.'⁵⁴ General Gilman, whose first letter emphasized Californian goldfields trader profitability, wrote a few months later 'A great change in prices of almost every thing has already taken place. All necessities are much cheaper than heretofore, and the tendency of prices is still downwards'.⁵⁵ In 1860, a miner at the Kiandra diggings on the Snowy River wrote to a storekeeper friend in Ballarat that 'there is a great many stores going up, and a great many on the road coming up to put up stores. I believe they will be selling things at first cost if something good does not come.'⁵⁶

The crucible of sharp competition drove some merchants out of business. McGregor and Low, two prospectors who are sometimes credited as discoverers of the Arrow goldfield, took the gold that they hauled from Bracken's Gully and ploughed it into a store in Queenstown in 1863, only abandon it a month later 'to return to the more profitable pursuit of mining'.⁵⁷ In September 1862, John Launder opened one of the first stores on the Maniototo Plain at MacPherson's station, a transit point for miners heading for the Lakes District via the ferry at Albert Town.⁵⁸ At first, he earned £40 or £50 a day, but by mid-1864 this had fallen

⁵² E.g. Galbraith, J.K., 'Monopoly Power and Price Rigidities', *The Quarterly Journal of Economics*, 1936 50, 3, pp. 456-475; Lambson, V.E., 'Competitive Profits in the Long Run', *The Review of Economic Studies*, 1992, 59, 1, pp. 125-142; Dutta, P., Matros, A., Weibull, J.W., 'Long-Run Price Competition', *The RAND Journal of Economics*, 2007, 38, 2, pp. 291-313.

⁵³ McKenzie, F., *The sparkling waters of the Wakatipua* (Wellington: Reed, 1947), p. 115.

⁵⁴ Glasson, H.A., *The Golden Cobweb* (Dunedin: The Otago Daily Times & Witness Newspapers Co., 1957), p. 51; see also 'The Dunstan, Hartley Township', *Otago Daily Times*, 2 December 1862, p. 5.

⁵⁵ Correspondence, *Watertown Chronicle*, 23 April 1851, p.4.

⁵⁶ 'Snowy River Goldfield', (ex- *Melbourne Herald*, 10 August), *Lyttelton Times*, 12 September 1860, p. 4.

⁵⁷ Salmond, p. 92.

⁵⁸ George Magnus Hassing, *Pages from the Memory Log of G.M. Hassing*, (Invercargill, *Southland Times*, 1929, p. 45.

to £2 or £3 a day and his credit was stretched. Competition and decent roads changed a very profitable concern into one that was marginal at best.⁵⁹

Nevertheless, the gold rush brought wealth. Jim McAloon identifies Dunedin business people who had ‘prospered considerably out of the gold-rushes’,⁶⁰ and Erik Olssen describes a ‘staggering prosperity’⁶¹ for ‘the merchants and professional men [of Otago]’. For example, William Henry Cutton turned work as a Dunedin agent, auctioneer, land commissioner, newspaper proprietor and banking director into an estate worth £47704 at his death.⁶² Scotsman Thomas Brydone turned an appointment as an Otago land company superintendent into involvement with a network of farms, several business enterprises and the development of freezing works infrastructure construction into an estate worth £37,186,⁶³ while the most famous of all the Chinese miners and businessmen in Otago, Canton-born Choie (Charles) Sew Hoy turned a business importing and distributing foodstuffs into a dredging and sluicing company empire across Otago to create a personal estate of £16,812.⁶⁴

Fuelled by the gold of 1861-1881 and wool boom of 1872-78 Otago became an economic powerhouse⁶⁵ with exports in excess of Auckland and Canterbury combined, buoying the fortunes of many Dunedin runholders, stock and station agents, manufacturers, shippers and financiers.⁶⁶ The development of Dunedin trading concerns, plus engineering firms like A & T Burt, Sparrow & Co. and Kincaid & MacQueen who all made miner’s tools, quartz batteries, berdan pans, pelton wheels and eventually dredges, all support McAloon and Olssen’s opinion, but this proves that astute businessmen profited from the expansion generated by the economic boom, not that miners were exploited.

Dunedin’s success followed the pattern of San Francisco and Melbourne - which Blainey calls ‘a second San Francisco’⁶⁷ - where the location of each as the main port of entry saw a rapid population increase, governmental spending on infrastructure⁶⁸ and a strong

⁵⁹ Supreme Court, *Otago Witness*, 4 June 1864, p. 9.

⁶⁰ McAloon, J., *No Idle Rich*, (Dunedin: Otago UP, 2002), p. 73.

⁶¹ Olssen, E. *A History of Otago*, p. 69.

⁶² Testamentary Register 1886 - 1892 C 720 957 DAGI D247 9010 Box 3.

⁶³ Thomas Brydone, Archives New Zealand Dunedin Office, Testamentary Register 1901 - 1904 C 720 960 DAGI D247 9010 Box 6.

⁶⁴ Choie Sew Hoy, Archives New Zealand Dunedin Office, Testamentary Register 1901 - 1904 C 720 960 DAGI D247 9010 Box 6.

⁶⁵ Lloyd-Pritchard, M.F., *An Economic History of New Zealand* (Auckland: Collins, 1970), pp. 112, 114, 161.

⁶⁶ Sinclair, F.R.J., *High Street Quaking – A History of Dunedin’s Inner Circle*, PhD thesis, University of Otago, 1996, p. 17. Angus, J.H. *City and Country*, pp. 26-28, Olssen, pp. 69, 71-2, 79.

⁶⁷ Blainey, p. 39.

⁶⁸ McDonald, K.C., *City of Dunedin – a Century of Civic Enterprise* (Dunedin: Dunedin City Corporation, 1965), pp. 45-9.

demand for foodstuffs and manufactured goods in the train of miners flooding into the hinterland seeking gold. This saw Dunedin merchants like James Rattray (J. Rattray & Sons Ltd), William Gregg (Gregg's Coffee and Spice Importers Ltd) and William Larnach, brewers like James Speight (Speight's Brewery Ltd), and soap-maker Charles Ziele (McLeod Bros. Ltd) earn business fortunes that sees them regarded as pillars of the city's commercial heritage today.

Philip May found that this was not always true on the West Coast, noting that even 'the big merchant importers in the three river ports were no less liable to sudden changes of fortune [and] business failures were common,'⁶⁹ but notwithstanding the potential for loss, the right mix of opportunity and good fortune could coalesce into business success, as Lyndon Fraser identified in *Castles of Gold*. Fraser found several West Coast Irish miners who invested gold earnings to become traders and parlayed funds initially gained on the goldfields into fortunes in farming, coal-mining and transport in other centres like Wellington.⁷⁰

Dunedin businessmen even influenced the ethnic mix on the goldfields, since as James Ng's research has revealed, it was at the invitation of Dunedin business leaders worried by losses of population and trade to the West Coast fields⁷¹ that Lowe Kong Meng was first induced to recruit Chinese miners to Otago in 1865.⁷² This was not the first time merchants influenced ethnicity on a goldfield; when the Foreign Miners' Tax of 1850 was enacted in California and armed bands drove off Hispanic and French miners, it was the plunge in the price of supplies and the value of the land which saw merchants engage in a campaign to secure a policy of "fair play" for foreigners and eventually a diminution in the tax levies, as well is the acceptance of most ethnicities, including - in the early days - the Chinese.⁷³

The architectural heritage in gold rush-wrought urban centres contributes to the idea that the gold rush merchants made considerable profits. Magnificent architecture in Ballarat and Bendigo in Victoria and in Clyde and Dunedin, testifies to the wealth won in the region, but this is not incontrovertible proof. For example, in Bendigo (VIC), the Shamrock hotel has

⁶⁹ May, p. 281.

⁷⁰ Fraser, L., *Castles of Gold* (Dunedin: Otago UP, 2007), pp. 60-2.

⁷¹ See James Belich, *Making Peoples – a History of the New Zealanders*, (Auckland, Penguin, 1996), pp. 348-349.

⁷² Ng, J., *The Chinese Goldseekers in Otago*, presentation at Monash University, 19 June 2003 (available: <http://www.stevenyoung.co.nz/the-chinese-in-new-zealand/What-s-New/Chinese-goldseekers-in-Otago.html>).

⁷³ Leonard Pitt, 'The Beginnings of Nativism in California', *Pacific Historical Review*, 30, 1, 1961, pp. 27 – 37.

achieved an iconic status in the Victorian gold story, and the fact that it is still possible to go and have a drink at a bar once built and tended by the famous William Heffernan cements the image of merchant wealth. What is not widely known is that the Tipperary-born Heffernan, who was celebrated as the first white man to walk across the isthmus of Panama on his trip from New York to California (where he struck riches, depositing \$20,000 worth of gold in the Philadelphia mint), died in Dunedin as the licensee of the Pier Hotel. He had suffered a severe reversal in fortune which saw large property holdings, the Shamrock and his remaining shares in mining companies all sold, leaving him 'in comparatively reduced circumstances',⁷⁴ and when he died, his estate was worth a mere £374.⁷⁵

In the course of my research into the town of Bendigo as an exemplar mining settlement of the gold rush era, I ran across numerous examples of merchants there failing and filing for bankruptcy. It was this which prompted me to examine the merchants of the gold rush in general, but a closer examination is merited.

One Otago Gold Town's Merchants

Bendigo is 14 miles north of Cromwell: far enough away to be self-sufficient, but close enough that the supply range and price structure were proximate to Cromwell.⁷⁶

The field began in late 1862 as 'Rocky Point' with a population of 15-20⁷⁷ miners supplied by McLeod and Gibson's General Store a mile away at Lindis Crossing.⁷⁸ In mid-1864, when increased water facilitated an expansion in the workable ground,⁷⁹ a population of 130 miners⁸⁰ and some shanty operators and storekeepers arrived,⁸¹ but by October 1864 the gold yield and the business and population surge faded to one store and a stable population of around 30.⁸²

⁷⁴ William Heffernan, *Otago Daily Times*, 23 March 1891, p. 6.

⁷⁵ William Heffernan, Archives New Zealand Dunedin Office, Testamentary Register 1886 - 1892 C 720 957 DAGI D247 9010 Box 3.

⁷⁶ Advertisements, *Cromwell Argus*, 1 December 1869, p. 1.

⁷⁷ Dods, J., Testimony, Appendix to the Journals of the House of Representatives, 1878 Session I, I-01a, Goldfields Committee, (Report of, On Petition of Daniel James Moore, Together with Minutes of Evidence.), October 11, p.4.

⁷⁸ 'The Dunstan Diggings', *Otago Witness*, 4 October 1862, p.8.

⁷⁹ 'The Rush to Otago', *Otago Witness*, 4 October 1862, p.8; Carpenter, L., 'A 35-Year Endeavour: Bendigo's Rise and Shine Syndicate', *Australian Historical Archaeology*, 2012, 30, p. 7.

⁸⁰ 'Warden's Report', *Dunstan Times*, 15 July 1865, p. 2.

⁸¹ Carpenter, L., 'Defining a Date and Place in the Otago Gold Rush: The Problematic Journal of George Magnus Hassing and Bendigo', *Australasian Journal of Mining History*, 2012, 10, p. 35.

⁸² 'Warden's Report - Cromwell', *Otago Witness*, 2 December 1865, p. 13.

In April 1869, anticipating a business opportunity and in the expectation that the Cromwell Company's success must attract a rush to the area, Kawarau Gorge miner James Beare put his accumulated earnings into a store which he erected beside Thomas Logan's stone cottage.⁸³ Located on a dry, sheltered slope halfway between the Cromwell Company's mine site in Specimen Gully and the quartz crusher battery down at the Bendigo Gorge mouth, Beare christened the site 'Logantown' in honour of Thomas Logan. He initially had the site to himself, serving Cromwell Company employees and the various prospectors who had sniffed out the fact that the Cromwell men were onto very rich ground. When news broke that this stone was exceptional in October⁸⁴ other retailers and crowds of miners flooded in and Logantown boomed⁸⁵ and the *Cromwell Argus* reported that 'a considerable township has sprung into existence as if by magic.'⁸⁶ Beare added the Reefers' Arms Hotel⁸⁷ to his store and additional hotels were built by Archie McLeod⁸⁸, James Patterson of Clyde (a twin to his Clyde Bendigo Old Family Hotel⁸⁹) and John Wilson from Cardrona⁹⁰. Three additional licenses were granted for hotels to G. Bond and Thomas Horrigan from Cardrona and Mr Russell of Pembroke's Wanaka Hotel⁹¹, but none proceeded. Hamilton & Barclay's Billiard Saloon was built by two miners who worked by day as shareholders in the Aurora sluicing syndicate⁹², and general stores were established by Cromwell's W. Shanly, Lowburn's John Perriam, Charles and William Colclough of Cardrona, Jacob Thormahlen of Clyde opened a branch of his 'London and Paris fancy Bazaar,' and Mercer's Temperance Restaurant, Isaac's Clothiers, Stevenson and Raby's A1 Bakery and butcheries owned by William Jackson Barry and C. Williams completed the list of businesses opened by January 1870.⁹³

In Bendigo Gully, Smith and O'Donnell were the only businessmen, erecting stone premises beside their wood and iron butchery to include an expanded general store and the Old Bendigo Hotel.⁹⁴ At the newly-surveyed official town of Bendigo⁹⁵ and beside the Cromwell Company's Solway quartz battery, hotels were built by William Goodall⁹⁶ and

⁸³ 'Bendigo Gully', *Cromwell Argus*, 1 December 1869, p. 2.

⁸⁴ Vincent Pyke, 'Warden's Report', *Otago Witness*, 26 June 1869, p. 15.

⁸⁵ 'A Visit to Bendigo Gully', *Cromwell Argus*, 3 November, 1869, p. 2.

⁸⁶ 'A Visit to Bendigo', the *Cromwell Argus*, 1 December 1869, p. 2.

⁸⁷ Advertisements, *Cromwell Argus*, 16 February, 1870, p. 1.

⁸⁸ Licensing Board, Hawea, *Cromwell Argus*, 8 April 1870, p. 3.

⁸⁹ Advertisements, *Cromwell Argus*, 15 December, 1869, p. 3.

⁹⁰ Advertisements, *Cromwell Argus*, 22 December, 1869, p. 1.

⁹¹ Licensing Board, Hawea, *Dunstan Times*, 1 December, 1869, p. 2.

⁹² Hamilton, Barclay and others, Clyde Warden's Court.

⁹³ 'Bendigo, *Cromwell Argus*', 1 December 1869, p. 2; 15 December 1869, p. 2.

⁹⁴ 'Bendigo Reefs', *Cromwell Argus*, 15 December 1869, p. 3.

⁹⁵ Arthur, W., *Map of the township of Bendigo*, November 1869.

⁹⁶ 'Bendigo', *Cromwell Argus*, 5 January 1870, p. 3.

Neil Peyton⁹⁷. Mitchinson and Harrison built their 'Wholesale and Retail Wakefield Store'⁹⁸ beside Goodall's premises.

Three of the hoteliers (Neil Peyton, Archie McLeod and William Goodall) were stone carters contracted to the Cromwell Company⁹⁹ who spent their days transporting ore from the mine down to the battery and their evenings serving drinks, while with the exception of Beare, the remainder of the Logantown merchants were business owners who retained premises elsewhere. It is apparent from comments like 'at present there are more places of business than the trade of the place would warrant ... [so] several people who then had the idea of erecting branch offices have given up that idea'¹⁰⁰ and 'we are afraid that buildings may have been put up rather prematurely, and without consideration of the actual requirements of the place'¹⁰¹ that Logantown was far from a good prospect for a goldfields merchant.

Some businesses closed shortly after opening: the already over-stretched Thormahlen was pursued into bankruptcy,¹⁰² Shanly abandoned his Logantown store to rebuild his business in Cromwell, Barry closed his butchery to focus on his Cromwell auction business¹⁰³ and Perriam sold his store to Wilson¹⁰⁴ who added it to his Provincial hotel. Some business entities did not last the heat of competition: the partnerships of Stevenson and Raby (A1 Bakery), Mitchinson and Harrison (Wakefield Wholesale and Retail Store), Mercer and Oliver (Mercer's Temperance Restaurant) and Hamilton and Barclay (Hamilton and Barclay's Billiard Saloon) split by the end of January, 1870¹⁰⁵ and Smith and O'Donnell's partnership ended in October of the same year.¹⁰⁶

Within a remarkably short time, the boom at Logantown abated. By May 1870, only Beare's Reefers' Arms, the Provincial, and McLeod's Aurora Junction hotels remained open for business, with Patterson offering his 'Seven Rooms and Billiard Table'¹⁰⁷ hotel for lease, returning to Clyde to focus on business there in June. In July, the *Dunstan Times* talked of

⁹⁷ Advertisements, *Cromwell Argus*, 12 October 1869, p. 2.

⁹⁸ Advertisements, *Cromwell Argus*, 15 December 1869, p. 3.

⁹⁹ *Cromwell Company Ledger*, entries 7 July 1870, 22 August 1870.

¹⁰⁰ Advertisements, *Cromwell Argus*, 1 December 1869, p. 2.

¹⁰¹ 'Cromwell', *Otago Daily Times*, 14 December 1869, p. 2

¹⁰² Notices, *Otago Daily Times*, 25 January, 1870, p. 1; Thormahlen, J., Storekeeper of Clyde, 31 December 1869: Clyde Bankruptcy Papers, DAACAcc18116D256532/352.

¹⁰³ Advertisements, *Dunstan Times*, 22 July 1870, p. 1.

¹⁰⁴ Advertisements, *Cromwell Argus*, 4 May 1870, p. 2.

¹⁰⁵ Advertisements, *Cromwell Argus*, 22 December 1869, p. 1.; Advertisements, *Otago Witness* 20 April, 1872, p. 8.; Advertisements, *Cromwell Argus*, 29 December, 1869, p. 4; Advertisements, 24 January 1870, p. 2.

¹⁰⁶ Warden's Court, *Cromwell Argus*, 30 November 1870, p. 2.

¹⁰⁷ Advertisements, *Dunstan Times*, 29 July 1870, p. 2.

Logantown's 'deadly liveliness'¹⁰⁸ and the *Otago Daily Times* described "the drooping glories of Logantown and its surroundings."¹⁰⁹ By the end of 1870, the three largest hotels, Goodall's Bendigo Reefs, Beare's Reefers' Arms and Patterson's Old Bendigo Family were for sale, and Beare's and Patterson's sat empty.¹¹⁰ Of the remaining hotels, the Provincial became a boarding house,¹¹¹ while a dispute with the licensing board in June 1872 revealed that Archie McLeod's Aurora Junction was 'only open for a few hours each evening selling a few nobblers occasionally, and carried on no other business'.¹¹² From the end of 1871, Logantown residents had to walk a mile downhill to O'Donnell's Bendigo Gully Old Bendigo Store and Hotel for supplies, which was by then 'substantially built of stone and is well stored with merchandise, also carrying on the business of a butcher & bakery'¹¹³, with only Mitchinson's Store and Smith's Solway Hotel in the Bendigo township offering competition.

Few Bendigo merchants accumulated significant estates to show for their endeavours. Solway Hotel proprietor William 'Sydney Bill' Smith died in 1878,¹¹⁴ his estate pursued by creditors.¹¹⁵ When his debts were paid, his estate was worth £385,¹¹⁶ while James Beare, the merchant who christened Logantown, left the area to go mining.¹¹⁷ His hotel was sold, dismantled and rebuilt as the Carrick Range Hotel at Carrickton by John Harding¹¹⁸ and Beare worked gold claims on the Carrick and in the Nevis Valley. When, on October 13, 1875 a sluice face collapsed and buried him,¹¹⁹ his wife and 3 children were left £300.¹²⁰ Jesse Geer, in partnership with Lane Oliver, bought Mercer's restaurant at Logantown, then when this partnership split in late April, 1870,¹²¹ purchased the A1 Bakery from William Stevenson.¹²² By July, this too was in trouble and despite being advertised as 'a splendid

¹⁰⁸ 'Bendigo, Cromwell', *Dunstan Times*, 22 July 1870, p. 3.

¹⁰⁹ 'Cromwell – Mining', *Otago Daily Times*, 1 August 1870, p. 2.

¹¹⁰ 'Bendigo', *Cromwell Argus*, 30 March, 1870, p. 2; 'Local', *Dunstan Times*, 29 July, 1870, p. 1.

¹¹¹ Warden's Court, *Cromwell Argus*, 23 December, 1870, p. 3.

¹¹² Warden's Court, Cromwell, *Cromwell Argus*, 6 June 1872, p. 2.

¹¹³ Advertisements, *Dunstan Times*, 3 March 1878, p. 2.

¹¹⁴ 'Bendigo', *Cromwell Argus* 30 July 1878, p. 3.

¹¹⁵ Advertisements, James Marshall (Creditors Trustee), *Cromwell Argus*, 27 July 1880, p. 3.

¹¹⁶ Smith, William G., Archives New Zealand Dunedin Office, Testamentary Register 1876 - 1882 C 720 955 DAGI D247 9010 Box 1.

¹¹⁷ Warden's Court, Applications, *Cromwell Argus*, 16 April, 1872, p. 2.

¹¹⁸ Resident Magistrate's Court, *Cromwell Argus*, 4 June, 1872, p. 5.

¹¹⁹ Coroner's Court, *Cromwell Argus*, 13 October 1875, p. 4.

¹²⁰ Beare, J., Archives NZ Dunedin Office, Legacy Duty Register 1871 - 1913 C 720 968 DAGI D247 9007 Box 2.

¹²¹ Advertisements, *Cromwell Argus*, 12 May 1870, p. 2.

¹²² Civil Cases, *Cromwell Argus* 27 April 1870, p. 4.

bakery and business house in the centre of Logantown',¹²³ did not sell. He worked a Bendigo Gully 'deep lead' claim through 1870 and in 1871 sluiced there.¹²⁴ He left for the Carrick Range,¹²⁵ where he pursued a coal lease and opened for business as a baker.¹²⁶ In February, 1876 the *Cromwell Argus* carried his notices advising that at his Quartzville Bakery and Restaurant, 'meals, coffee, cakes, and other refreshments [are] supplied at a minute's notice'. When he died in July 1876, his estate was assessed at Nil.¹²⁷ In late 1874, there was a brief revival in the quartz prospects at Bendigo, when rich stone was found in depth by the Cromwell Company. This prompted William Cameron, who was living in the Provincial Hotel, to seek a licence to reopen its bar and accommodation.¹²⁸ He and his wife continued to run this business, alongside his deep lead claim in Bendigo Gully. This apparently was not profitable and in 1879 he was charged as a sly-grogger, because he had not renewed his licence.¹²⁹

Given a high level of business mobility in the goldrush era, which included the ability to flat-pack any wood and iron store and hotel building to facilitate transportation and re-erection at a new field and an obvious preparedness to follow the mining population, this narrative does not explain why at Bendigo, and in so many equivalent gold towns, so many hoteliers and retailers were dragged into bankruptcy.

There is an aspect to goldfields merchant behaviour that has not been closely examined and it offers some explanation for why long-term profit could prove elusive for many retailers and hoteliers of Central Otago towns in general and at Bendigo in particular.

Banker Merchants

Goldfields businessmen became more than retailers; they became the merchant bankers of the nineteenth century mining economy. The legal environment forced this; in the 1860s, land tenure was insecure, town sections and farms – even when surveyed – were leasehold and the property rights of mining claims were tenuous, so security for loans was problematic.¹³⁰ Additionally, the tools of modern financing in the form of useable credit did not exist, with

¹²³ Advertisements: To Bakers – a First-Class Opportunity, *Cromwell Argus*, 20 July, 1870, p. 3.

¹²⁴ Warden's Court Cromwell, *Cromwell Argus*, 13 June 1871, p. 3.

¹²⁵ Warden's Court Cromwell, *Cromwell Argus*, 19 September 1871, p. 3.

¹²⁶ 'Telegrams', *Otago Daily Times*, 1 August 1872, p. 2; 'Carrick Ranges', *Bruce Herald*, 21 May 1875, p. 6.

¹²⁷ Geer, J., Archives New Zealand Dunedin office, Testamentary Register 1876 - 1882 C 720 955 DAGI D247 9010 Box 1.

¹²⁸ Licensing meeting, *Cromwell Argus*, June 1875, p. 3.

¹²⁹ Local and General, *Otago Witness*, 19 July 1879, p. 12.

¹³⁰ Editorial, *Cromwell Argus*, 12 January 1870, p. 2.

banks existing to purchase gold, cash cheques, facilitate monetary transfers, and offered safe depository and savings services for business owners, investors and miners.¹³¹ Some lawyers and accountants provided mortgage finance, but required legal security to do so.

The merchants had little choice but become lenders: without available credit, the development of large-scale claims, expansion of commercial ventures and growth in their local economy would be limited, and the notoriously mobile mining population would move away to wherever new opportunities beckoned.¹³²

For the miner seeking finance while he spent a year digging a water race with his mates to begin sluicing work, a syndicate constructing a dam to lay the riverbed dry, or a company developing auriferous quartz in an Otago hillside, the goldfields' storekeepers and hoteliers were his only hope. By becoming investors, the merchants of the goldfields became venture capitalists of gold rush-era commerce, bankrolling many significant mining projects and commercial ventures across the province. Sometimes they profited, mostly they covered costs, but sometimes, they and all associated with a project paid a ruinous price for their gamble on miners' dreams.

Far from being an homogenous group, my research has identified different types of venture capitalists who reacted to specific situations of need and demand or identified opportunities and set these in motion. These were 'The Grubstake Merchant', 'The Sleeper Shareholders' and 'The Quartz Capital Men.'

The 'Grub Stake' Merchant

Miners gambled on finding riches in Central Otago; goldfields traders gambled on miners finding gold and staying once they found it. These traders were not passive profit-takers, they were active participants in each rush and while they stood to profit from early opportunities, success was not guaranteed. Many of the very earliest accounts paint a picture of convivial mutual dependency; at the Aorere, New Zealand's earliest real alluvial rush, (Australian veteran miner and Aorere prospector) William Lightband commented that 'parties are weekly arriving from all quarters – some in destitute circumstances; these, through the kindness of the storekeepers, are enabled to get a few things on credit; and with this

¹³¹ McAloon, J., 'The New Zealand Economy', in: G. Byrnes, ed. *The New Oxford History of New Zealand* (Melbourne: Oxford UP, 2009), p. 211.

¹³² 'Mining', *Dunstan Times*, 4 December, 1874, p. 2.

assistance numbers have made a good start, and in about a week have recovered themselves.’¹³³

In every extant goldfields merchant journal, it is clear that their main role, apart from the provision of goods for sale, was the extension of credit to miners developing claims. Alan Houston did most of his business in his Gabriel’s Gully store ‘on account’, to keep miners in supplies, rarely knowing the actual name of his customers, setting up accounts for “Little Bill”, “Big Bill”, “Black Bill” and “Sailor Jack”.¹³⁴ According to James Ng, Chinese merchants performed a similar money-lending service to their community, as well as employing their skills as bilingual speakers to negotiate mining transactions.¹³⁵

The scant records of Bendigo retailers reveal that even in the 1870s and 1880s, most quartz miners lived on provisions obtained by credit, regularly making payments from monthly wages to cover – or partly clear – the accumulated debt.¹³⁶ A law suit between a miner called Gibbs and the storekeeping firms of Bendigo Gully’s Smith and O’Donnell and Bendigo’s Mitchinson and Harrison showed a near-cashless society emerging, where store debt was covered by promissory notes issued against wages and cashed by mine employers, and where miners traded off part of their accumulated balance as payment in kind, working for the businessmen for wages in their spare time.¹³⁷ A letter from Charles Lawson of Welshtown, Bendigo dated 1882 reveals a balance in excess of three months’ worth of wages accumulated with Charles O’Donnell’s Bendigo Gully Hotel and Store¹³⁸ and shows Lawson made regular payments, but also has amounts against the total as ‘by labour’. It was in the process of working to reduce his debt that Lawson was accidentally killed while butchering a Bullock carcass in Bendigo Gully.¹³⁹ A steady stream of Bendigo retailers suing Cromwell Company employees to have accounts paid¹⁴⁰ would indicate that these outstanding debts were not the guaranteed source of profit that legend would suggest.

¹³³ ‘The Nelson Gold Fields’, *Nelson Examiner and New Zealand Chronicle*, 13 June 1857, p. 3.

¹³⁴ Houston, p. 14.

¹³⁵ Ng, J., *The Chinese Goldseekers in Otago*, presentation at Monash University, 19 June 2003 (available: <http://www.stevenyoung.co.nz/the-chinese-in-new-zealand/What-s-New/Chinese-goldseekers-in-Otago.html>). .

¹³⁶ Warden’s Court, *Dunstan Times*, 14 April 1871, p. 3 and others.

¹³⁷ Resident Magistrate’s Court, *Cromwell Argus*, 10 August 1870, p. 3.

¹³⁸ Lawson, C., letter to his 11 year-old daughter and son in in Liverpool. Dated 20 December 1882, Provided by Mrs Hilary Rowlands, great-grand-daughter of Lawson.

¹³⁹ Inquest, *Cromwell Argus*, 16 June 1885, p. 5.

¹⁴⁰ E.g., Resident’s Magistrates Court, *Cromwell Argus*, 8 February, 1871, p. 3; Bruce Simpson, Miner of Bendigo, 14 July 1870, Bankruptcy, Archives New Zealand Dunedin Office, C705001 DAEQ D573 21570 4; William Grant, Carpenter of Bendigo, 2 September 1870, Bankruptcy, Archives New Zealand Dunedin Office, C705002 DAEQ D573 21570 5; Edward George Barnes, of Quartzville, Formerly of Bendigo, 25 February 1875, Bankruptcy, Archives New Zealand Dunedin Office, DAEQD573 7d; Philip Matthews, Miner of

Philip May was unequivocal about the potential for loss, saying that many Wakamarina (NZ) storekeepers ‘ruined themselves by extending credit to a digging population no longer flush with money’,¹⁴¹ and on the West Coast, storekeepers ‘lost everything by extending credit to men they never saw again’,¹⁴² while Miles Fairburn concludes that ‘to judge from the amount of litigation by storekeepers against miners who ordered goods on credit then decamped, credit must have been readily extended to almost every stranger who entered a goldfield’.¹⁴³ Their lament is echoed in the recollections of Leonardo Pozzi, a Swiss born gunsmith who went mining on his arrival in Victoria, then opened a store at Yandoit, near Daylesford with two other Swiss immigrants: ‘We carried on a large brisk business, and given plenty of credit to gold miners.... you could not do any business without giving credit and nothing but tick business, and at the end found myself in queer street and rouined [sic] for bad business’.¹⁴⁴ The long-serving Tuapeka politician James Clark Brown suffered a severe setback before he entered politics, losing his large store in Ross Street, Lawrence and suffering a near-bankruptcy due to ‘losses sustained through a too liberal credit system, which was, perhaps, in some degree a necessity of business in those ever changing and unsettled days’.¹⁴⁵

The small-town storekeeper proto-banker was not just a goldfields phenomenon; David Hamer describes the provision of loans and credit for the supply of goods to local settlers¹⁴⁶ as a typical function for nineteenth century New Zealand rural stores: ‘an essential source of short-term but very expensive credit for the struggling settlers who often needed loans to tide them over difficult times.’¹⁴⁷ In her study into Chinese in Australia after the gold, Cora Trevvarthen found an elaborate and highly-structured system of credit existing with

Bendigo, Bankrupt, *Dunstan Times*, 12 January 1876, p. 3; Edward Aldridge, Miner of Bendigo, *Cromwell Argus*, 6 June 1876, p. 5; Thomas Downey, Miner of Bendigo, *Cromwell Argus*, 4 June 1878, p. 5; John Charlton, Miner of Bendigo, *Cromwell Argus*, 11 June 1878, p. 3; William Henry Lidston, Miner of Bendigo, *Otago Daily Times*, 9 February 1892, p. 8.

¹⁴¹ May, p. 105.

¹⁴² May, p. 281.

¹⁴³ Fairburn, M. (1989) *The Ideal Society and Its Enemies – the Foundations of Modern New Zealand Society 1850 – 1900* (Auckland: Auckland UP), p. 105.

¹⁴⁴ L. Pozzi, letter to Josephine 4 January, 1905, Melbourne, published on International Service of the Swiss Broadcasting Corporation website, http://www.swissinfo.ch/eng/specials/swiss-italian_migrations/new_world/I_have_made_a_very_bad_calculation.html?cid=994482, updated January 7, 2009, accessed 19 February, 2013.

¹⁴⁵ ‘The Death of Mr J.C.Brown’, *Tuapeka Times*, 11 February 1891, p. 3.

¹⁴⁶ Hamer, D., ‘Towns in Nineteenth Century New Zealand’, p. 7

¹⁴⁷ Hamer, p. 12.

Chinese labourers which ‘go far beyond simple bartering or exchange’¹⁴⁸, revealing that this proto-banking sat alongside standard banking systems for longer than is widely appreciated. Additionally, the American consul in Victoria (British Columbia), Allen Francis observed the effects of the gold rush to Cariboo and other areas during the period 1862 – 70 and concluded that the entire economy was jeopardised by the system of credit: ‘the miners lived on credit; when the gold did not “pan out” they could not pay their bills and thus ruined the creditors as well as themselves’¹⁴⁹ and advocated for tighter rules as a result.

John Gould Bremner, a general grocer at the Hogburn/Naseby goldfield wrote that as the gold finding changed over time, so too did the work of merchant. By 1864, ‘the days of the tub and cradle were past’¹⁵⁰ and he details how he and other retailers supported the new sluicing companies. The first water race ventures saw merchants extending credit while work to build the races and shape head and tail races ready for sluicing operations went on. In Bremner's case, ‘this entailed a heavy burden on the business people, for in most cases, all the men had, was a stout heart, a strong arm and great faith.’¹⁵¹ His cheerfully positive appraisal of this was not maintained because as time went on and the races were complete, the proprietors charged usurious rates for the water, meaning that the miners were barely able to cover costs. The claimholders were left, after paying their water, with very little with which to pay retailers who had kept them in supplies, so ‘what of the butchers, bakers, grocers and drapers who had been giving credit to the claimholders all this time? In many cases they got nothing. What could they do? If they stop the credit, the men must give up and leave, so they continued in hopes of a better result next time, and as time went on, this proved absolutely ruinous to the mercantile community.’¹⁵²

The merchant grub-staking local miners was one means by which he attracted and kept trade, but this relied on the miners staying and earning and assumed that his own lines of credit were sufficiently robust to pay his suppliers. The regularity with which storekeepers were bankrupted through the decades of the gold rush would suggest that for many, this was not so, especially if the grub-staking extended to other merchants. As credit was stretched or

¹⁴⁸ C. Trevarthen, ‘After the Gold Is Gone: Chinese Communities in North-East Victoria, 1861 – 1914’, *Journal of Chinese Australia*, issue 2, October 2006, available at http://www.chaf.lib.latrobe.edu.au/jca/issue02/09Trevarthen.html#_edn26 accessed 19 February 2013.

¹⁴⁹ C.J. Fedorak, ‘The United States Consul in Victoria and the Political Destiny of the Colony of British Columbia, 1862 – 1870’, *Journal of British Columbia Studies*, no. 79, Autumn 1988, p. 7.

¹⁵⁰ Bremner, J.G., *The Mt Ida Goldfields – A Merchant's Memories*, (Dunedin, Maniatoto Early Settlers Association, 1988), p. 10.

¹⁵¹ Bremner, p. 11.

¹⁵² Bremner, p. 15.

business decreased, retailers relied on each other for supplies or for bridging finance as they hoped for a mining – and therefore business – resurgence. The files of Neil Peyton¹⁵³ (Solway Hotel, Bendigo), Jesse Geer¹⁵⁴ (A1 Bakery, Logantown), Jacob Thormahlen¹⁵⁵ (General Grocer, Logantown and Clyde), Thomas Horrigan¹⁵⁶ (Storekeeper, Logantown), Kelsall and Wilson¹⁵⁷ (Provincial Hotel and Grocery Store, Logantown) and Josiah Mitchinson¹⁵⁸ (Storekeeper, Bendigo) all reveal high levels of inter-trader debt, and in each of these cases, it was their fellow merchants who pursued them into bankruptcy.

This proto-banking could generate success though; Californian gold rush researchers Larry Schweikart and Lynne Pierson Doti locate the genesis of a substantial Californian bank in grub-stake lending to miners by retailer Darius Ogden Mills, so this activity should not be underestimated in terms of a wider commercial narrative.¹⁵⁹ In 1866, in the rush to Cerro Gordo high in California's Sierra Mountains, merchant Victor Beaudry built a blast furnace to process silver ore and extended credit to his miner customers, cleverly of obtaining a significant portfolio of valuable mining claims when these men were not able to meet their payment obligations.¹⁶⁰ I have not found any equivalent to this predatory behaviour in Australia or New Zealand mining claims ownership but I have found that a number of the goldfields financiers, most notably Cromwell's Borthwick Baird, used foreclosure on mortgages to build an extensive farming and urban and business property portfolio.

¹⁵³ Peyton, N., Hotelkeeper of Bendigo, 25 October 1870: Clyde Bankruptcy Papers, Archives New Zealand Dunedin Office, DAEQ Acc 21570 D5735/c.

¹⁵⁴ Geer, J., Storekeeper, 29 September 1870: Clyde Bankruptcy Papers, Archives New Zealand Dunedin Office, DAEQ Acc 21570 D5733/n.

¹⁵⁵ Thormahlen, J., Storekeeper of Clyde, 31 December 1869: Clyde Bankruptcy Papers, Archives New Zealand Dunedin Office, DAAC Acc 18116 D256532/352.

¹⁵⁶ Colclough, C. & W., v. Horrigan, T., Storekeeper of Logantown, 16 February, 1872: Clyde Warden's Court Plaintiff Files, Archives New Zealand Dunedin Office, DAEQ Acc D5732168828bc57.

¹⁵⁷ Kelsall & Wilson, Storekeepers of Bendigo, 15 February 1871: Clyde Bankruptcy Papers, Archives New Zealand Dunedin Office, R12677742 DAEQ Acc 21570 D5735/f.

¹⁵⁸ Mitchinson Josiah - formerly Bendigo now Dunedin - Formerly Storekeeper now Traveller 1877, Clyde Bankruptcy Papers, Archives New Zealand Dunedin Office, DAAC 18118 D256 544/ 120. Clyde Bankruptcy.

¹⁵⁹ Schweikart L., Pierson Doti, L. 'From Hard Money to Branch Banking: California Banking in the Gold-Rush Economy', in R.J. Orsi and J.L. Rawls, eds. *A Golden State – Mining and Economic Development in Gold Rush California*, California Historical Society, California History Sesquicentennial Vol. 2, 1999, pp. 209-232.

¹⁶⁰ G.L. Shumway, L. Vredenburg, R. Hartill, *Desert Fever: an Overview of Mining in the California Desert Conservation Area*, (Riverside, Bureau of Land Management, US Department of the Interior, 1980), p. 26.

The 'Sleeper Shareholder' Merchant

'Sleeper shareholder' merchants are exemplified by members of the Nil Desperandum Syndicate dam project at Quartz Reef Point in 1864,¹⁶¹ Bendigo's Aurora Syndicate of 1866 and many similar ventures across the goldfields of New Zealand and Australia.¹⁶²

These reflect a system developed on the Victorian goldfields, delineating miners and merchants into 'sleeping' and 'active' shareholders.¹⁶³ Each held an equal share, 'sleepers' continuing their trade or business whilst contributing the equivalent of a labourer's wage to the company, while 'actives' dug the water race and drew down a wage from the syndicate.¹⁶⁴

The investing merchants endured months or even years of strain on their cash flow, but then enjoyed returns which not only validated their decision to invest, but repaid their investment, made money and created an asset which they could sell for a profit. The miners had their wages guaranteed as they worked, with the potential to build an asset through 'sweat equity', working with the merchants. The merchants could engage in gold mining without the hard work of hefting picks and shovels, pursuing their mercantile endeavours and sharing in the eventual riches of the project. The same pattern was used in the Nil Desperandum dam project of 1864-6, but when this failed, the investing merchants were left out of pocket (see 'The Clutha's First Dam' chapter in this thesis).

One problem inherent in this financial system was the high degree of trust involved. When the Clare Castle Rush happened in 1859, many of the 'working' shareholders on the Black Lead claim at Ballarat ran off to join it, leaving the 'sleeper' shareholders with what were effectively valueless claims and no way of recovering their investment.¹⁶⁵ The businessmen of Bendigo's Aurora syndicate did not blindly act as venture capitalists; like any

¹⁶¹ 'Reminiscences by "Pioneer"', *Cromwell Argus*, 17 August 1908, p. 2.

¹⁶² Blainey, pp.50, 67; Serle, pp. 219-221,

¹⁶³ For example: 'Mining', *Star* (Ballarat), 12 September 1857, p. 2; R. M. Serjeant, Correspondence, A Local Court Decision, 28 September 1857, p. 3; Alexander Dick, Correspondence, Working and Sleeping Shares, 21 May 1858, p. 3; Buninyong Court of Mines, 24 March 1860, p. 4; Court of Mines, 6 September 1860, p. 2; Editorial, A Law Wanted for Mining on Private Property, *Bendigo Advertiser*, 10 June 1863, p. 2; 'Mining Intelligence', *The Argus* (Melbourne), 1 March 1864, p. 5; 'The Goldfields, Junction Point Goldfield', *Braidwood Independent*, 12 October 1867, p. 5; 'Latest Mining News from Gympie', *Brisbane Courier*, 21 January 1869, p. 3; 'Country News, by Mail, Gilberton', *Queenslander*, 2 September 1871, p. 11; 'Blackwood', *Bacchus Marsh Express*, 20 July 1872, p. 3; 'Nuegummie and Talliewidgee Reefs', *Clarence and Richmond Examiner and New England Advertiser*, 27 May 1873, p. 6; Editorial, *Northern Miner* (Charters Towers), 1 September 1877, p. 2, and many others.

Bylaws and laws were passed to regulate the practice: See Ballarat Mining District Bylaw XII, *The Star* (Ballarat), 2 February 1861, supplement p. 1; The New Goldfields Regulations, *Sydney Morning Herald*, 4 April 1872, p. 5 and others.

¹⁶⁴ Coates, J., Report to Goldfields Warden Vincent Pyke, *Otago Witness*, 12 August 1865, p. 11.

¹⁶⁵ 'Back Creek', *The Star* (Ballarat), 7 December 1859, p. 4.

modern equivalent, the financiers appraised the proposals from the miners, recognised their knowledge, competence and experience, and in the case of the Aurora men, had the benefit of the corroborative report from Surveyor Coates; each made an informed decision to invest, and made a profit or loss on the deal. The Aurora men profited; the Nil Desperandum lost around £4000 between them.¹⁶⁶

It was not a system which was entirely restricted to the goldfields, however. In the Otago Colonist newspaper in late 1859 and early 1860, a squeeze on farm profits saw several run-holders cash-strapped and their solution was to advertise in the newspaper for 'Sleeping Partners' to take a share in the farm. In one such advertisement, Mr. C. Humphries of Jacob's River, Riverton sought a partner with twenty to fifty heifers or cows, while Mr. John Edhouse sought 'for a run of easy access southward, a partner, sleeping or active, who can bring One Thousand Pounds in cash or stock'.¹⁶⁷ A survey of nineteenth century newspapers reveals merchants' advertisements seeking similar arrangements; for example in Nelson, C.F.M. wanted 'a person with a capital of at least £400, willing to join the advertiser in a lucrative business, either as an acting or sleeping partner' in 1861,¹⁶⁸ while in 1863 J. Olliver and Son of Christchurch declared that 'an opportunity now presents itself any Gentleman possessed of moderate capital to enter the house of a well-known merchant in the Province of Canterbury, either as an active or sleeping partner. The returns are considerable, and realise a large profit. A capital of £5000 is required'.¹⁶⁹

In his narrative of the early days at Bendigo (VIC), R.P. Whitworth wrote his serialised column called 'An Old Chums Experiences of the Early Days' and detailed how he had worked with four others to find the very rich Fiery Creek Diggings near Ballarat, and after making a small fortune as a gold finder, spent the rest of his time living in Melbourne and mining vicariously, by grubstaking other mining expeditions 'with all necessities and money, and taking a certain risk for my venture'.¹⁷⁰ These systems of 'sleeping partners' were slightly different than the businesses of the goldfields, because they implied a lump sum investment to buy in, rather than the Aurora syndicate's weekly contributions from the financiers and work contribution from the 'actives', but it reveals a hitherto little-examined aspect of the colonial financial landscape.

¹⁶⁶ 'Mining', *Otago Daily Times*, 8 March 1866, p. 5.

¹⁶⁷ Advertisements, *Otago Colonist*, 23 November 1860, p. 3.

¹⁶⁸ Advertisements, *Nelson Examiner and New Zealand Chronicle*, 18 September 1861, p. 2.

¹⁶⁹ Advertisements, *Press*, 25 December 1863, p. 4.

¹⁷⁰ R.P. Whitworth, 'An Old Chums Experiences of the Early Days', *Waikato Times*, 10 May 1884, p. 1.

The Quartz Merchants

Bendigo's first quartz mine was the Cromwell Quartz Mining Company, which began in 1866 when miners Jack Garrett and Thomas Logan found and secured a claim there. They developed it over eighteen months with the support of Brian Hebden, who mined at Quartz Reef Point and using the credit of John Perriam's Lowburn Store.¹⁷¹ When payable stone was found, they brought in Cromwell Hotelier George Wellington Goodger as financier. The newly-formed company purchased, shifted and erected a quartz crushing plant, built a road and raised several hundred tons of stone from their mine for processing by 1869.¹⁷²

George Wellington Goodger makes an exemplary case-study of the goldfields merchant. The Canadian-born Goodger mined in California and Victoria and began mining at Hartley's Beach and Duffer's Point near Cromwell after arriving in 1862.¹⁷³ He also mined at Quartz Reef Point in 1864, where he was briefly involved with the Nil Desperandum Company and their project to dam the Clutha.¹⁷⁴ In 1863 he built the Cromwell water supply race, erected yards and stables for storing and trading in livestock, and leased thirty acres on the Cromwell flats, where he ran the first dairy herd in the region.¹⁷⁵ He co-owned a butchery, a timber business and worked as a builder.¹⁷⁶ In 1864 he had accumulated sufficient capital to set up his Junction Commercial Hotel.¹⁷⁷

He was the first of several goldfields merchant boosters of Central Otago: in 1866, he was appointed to the first Cromwell School Committee; he found and developed the Cromwell lignite pit; he harvested the region's first crop of hay¹⁷⁸ and in 1867 he even became Mayor of Cromwell, after William Jackson Barry forgot to sign official papers confirming his re-election.¹⁷⁹ In the 1870s Goodger bought and developed the Swan Brewery¹⁸⁰ on the outskirts of town, erected commercial rooms opposite his hotel¹⁸¹ and with

¹⁷¹ 'A Reminiscence of Bendigo', *Otago Witness*, 22 August, 1922, p. 63.

¹⁷² Carpenter, L., Reviled, pp. 44-49.

¹⁷³ John Cassels, 'Goldfields Pioneers', *Otago Witness*, 7 June 1884, p. 13.

¹⁷⁴ Goodger, G.W., Clyde Applications, Memo to Goldfields Warden advising of share transfer, Archives NZ Dunedin, Clyde Transfers Acc D98 7416.

¹⁷⁵ Archives NZ Dunedin, Cromwell Plaints 1865-67, Acc D98 7440, *Mayor and Corporation of Cromwell vs. G.W. Goodger & Party*, 1 April 1868; Bendigo Gully, *Dunstan Times*, 4 March 1870, p.1; Goldfields Pioneers, *Otago Witness*, 7 June 1884, p. 11.

¹⁷⁶ 'Cromwell', *Dunstan Times*, 22 May 1868, p. 1.

¹⁷⁷ Kennedy, N. and Murray, R., *Early Pioneers in the Cromwell Area, 1863 – 1880*, p. 22.

¹⁷⁸ 'Cromwell', *Dunstan Times*, 27 January 1866, p.2; Kawarau Coal Pit Advertisement *Dunstan Times*, 12 May 1866, p.1; 'Cromwell Correspondent', *Dunstan Times*, 31 March 1866, p. 3.

¹⁷⁹ 'The Mayoralty of Cromwell', *Dunstan Times*, 30 August 1867, p. 3.

¹⁸⁰ 'Letters from the Goldfields – Special Reporter, Cromwell District', *Otago Witness*, 22 August 1874, p. 6.

Thomas Logan and John Perriam was one of the driving forces behind the funding and building of the Cromwell Hospital.¹⁸² Throughout the 1870s he was the first to turn to for investment capital and Goodger backed a range of ventures in the region, from coaching services¹⁸³ and new mining ventures to large-scale water race developments at Bannockburn.¹⁸⁴ The last of these led to Goodger's ruin, when the result of a protracted water rights dispute removed their water, leaving the race dry and the shareholders with a worthless watercourse,¹⁸⁵ and at the time of his death in 1883 his assets were close to zero and others ran the businesses he had started.

Goodger was typical of many Central Otago merchants; he was an experienced miner who worked claims, invested earnings and diversified to accumulate sufficient capital to open his own establishments. His experience provided him with distinct advantages over the Dunedin capitalists who were involved in the mature Otago quartz industry in the mid-1870s: as a former miner, he appreciated the need for a long term view on the development requirements for any claim and he could cast the gaze of an experienced realist over any overly-enthusiastic reports proffered by prospectors determined on developing a claim with his money.

At Bendigo, local storekeepers and hoteliers were actively involved as quartz company investors, and examination of these records offers a window into why so many failed. Josiah Mitchinson was the financier of the Morning Star Claim¹⁸⁶ and when this became the Reliance Quartz Mining Company Limited, was its largest shareholder¹⁸⁷ until it failed in 1877.¹⁸⁸ The miners who worked the claim - which offered hints of auriferous stone without ever yielding payable ore¹⁸⁹ - were effectively on his payroll for all those years, a financial strain which contributed to his bankruptcy in 1876.¹⁹⁰ Charles O'Donnell, Bendigo's longest-serving businessman (1864 - 1906), invested in several ventures, but avoided being the cornerstone financier for any venture. That said, he was involved in several claims – some simultaneously – for most of the 42 years he was resident at Bendigo. In 1869

¹⁸¹ Advertisement, *Cromwell Argus*, 20 January 1877, p. 3.

¹⁸² 'Hospital Committee', *Cromwell Argus*, 3 November 1874, p. 2

¹⁸³ Lovell-Smith, EM, *Old Coaching Days in Otago and Southland*, (Christchurch, Lovell-Smith and Venner, 1931), p. 83.

¹⁸⁴ 'Prospectus of the Carrick Range Water Supply Company, Registered', *Otago Daily Times*, 19 February 1872, p. 1; 'Freehold Properties for Sale', *Otago Daily Times*, 11 January 1883, p. 1.

¹⁸⁵ Olssen, *Otago*, pp. 65-6.

¹⁸⁶ 'The Bendigo Reefs', *Cromwell Argus*, 13 July 1870, p. 3.

¹⁸⁷ 'Quartz Mining Memoranda', *Otago Witness*, 29 November 1873, p. 9.

¹⁸⁸ 'Mining', *Otago Witness*, 12 September 1885, p. 19.

¹⁸⁹ 'Bendigo', *Dunstan Times*, October 15 1875, p. 3.

¹⁹⁰ 'Mortgagee Sale Notice', *Cromwell Argus*, 24 October 1876, p. 1.

he was prominent as 'O'Donnell & Company',¹⁹¹ and as late as 1888 bought into the Jubilee Syndicate mine in the Rise and Shine Valley.¹⁹² After 1878 he was Bendigo's only remaining retailer, whose home, hotel, bakery (which he added in 1876¹⁹³), butchery and general store¹⁹⁴ operated from stone premises until 1906. These remain a substantial ruin in Bendigo Gully. O'Donnell's estate was worth a respectable £1111 on his death in 1907.¹⁹⁵

Other merchants similarly investing in Bendigo quartz ventures included the proprietors of the Provincial Hotel, William Kelsall and John Wilson, who in 1870 developed an aerial ropeway to get ore from their claim across the gully to the Aurora Battery¹⁹⁶, and William Smith, with his partner Mrs Elizabeth Reid financed the 'Try Again' Syndicate near the Lucknow mine for three years in the mid-1870s. James Patterson of 'The Old Bendigo Family Hotel' at Logantown, the hotelier who originally backed the Aurora men in 1866, supported three different claims through 1870-1. None made any money and for Smith, Kelsall, Wilson and Mrs Reid, these contributed to their bankruptcy.

A different pattern emerged as the Dunstan field matured. A prospector would find auriferous quartz, test, secure it by registered claim before selling out to monied investors. The 'windfall' development of a quartz claim and its sale to capitalists was the ultimate reward for the quartz prospectors: their lonely days spent picking their way over wind-swept and dusty tussock-covered Otago hillsides were rewarded with finding a reef, proving it, becoming small-scale 'boosters' of the claim's prospects and finally selling to investors, to pocket the proceeds. The investors tended to be lawyers, accountants and industrialists from larger urban centres, such as Dunedin, Cromwell and Palmerston and eventually the United Kingdom, and were similar to professional investors of today.¹⁹⁷

Later quartz ventures or transformation of mining company finances under changing legal frameworks saw the development of investor syndicates from Dunedin and overseas. This was especially true of the dredging companies in the last decades of the nineteenth century.¹⁹⁸ But for the earliest days of quartz mine development at Bendigo (and there is evidence in the archives of the Warden's Courts to suggest this was also true of the Arrow,

¹⁹¹ 'Bendigo Quartz Reefs', *Cromwell Argus*, 15 December 1869, p. 5.

¹⁹² 'Mining', *Otago Witness*, 15 June 1888, p. 12; Michael Broad, (Ed.) *William Gilbert Mouat's Journal 1863 – 1956*, <http://www.rgreen.org.uk/WGM.html>.

¹⁹³ 'Cromwell', *Cromwell Argus*, 6 June, 1876, p. 3.

¹⁹⁴ 'Bendigo Reefs', *Dunstan Times*, 8 March, 1878, p. 2.

¹⁹⁵ Advertisements, *Otago Witness*, 5 August, 1908, p. 55.

¹⁹⁶ 'Bendigo Reefs', *Dunstan Times*, 21 September 1870, p. 3.

¹⁹⁷ See also Blainey, p.72.

¹⁹⁸ T.J. Hearn and R.P. Hargraves, (1985) *The Speculators' Dream* (Dunedin: Allied Press), pp. 1, 4, 12.

Skippers, Waipori, Rough Ridge, Carrick and other fields), it was the local merchants who provided the working capital as the mines began work.

The Wealthy of the Goldfields

Some retailers made a comfortable living on the goldfields, but many lived a hand-to-mouth, hardscrabble existence. In her survey of women on the Central Otago goldfields, Jennifer Dickenson notes that many of the sly-grog shanty operators and boarding house owners were women who were also forced into prostitution 'to supplement their meagre income,'¹⁹⁹ suggesting that these businesses were no goldmine for their owners. Dickenson also lists several women business owners who ran stores or hotels to add to their husbands mining income.²⁰⁰ The retailers, hoteliers and merchants who made a comfortable, even good living at the goldfields did not do so through opportunistic pricing to their miner customers. While Bendix Hallenstein did reasonably well as a multi-outlet retailer in Queenstown, Wanaka, Cromwell and Alexandra, it was his foray into clothes manufacturing in Dunedin which secured the family fortune and saw the name endure today.²⁰¹ The Kuchtze family initially made their name as brewers in Cromwell, but had to shift to Auckland to establish the Dominion Breweries Group before they saw real wealth.

Stories of business success can be found, but these feature due to their exceptional character, rather than their commonplace occurrence. Julia Eichardt's story is one such exception. According to Sandra Quick's research, Julia Shanahan began as a hotel keeper in her own right, managing G.W. Rees' Queens Arms Hotel in 1863. When former miner Albert Eichardt²⁰² sought both her hand and ownership of the hotel in early 1864, they quickly built this into a profitable concern. When Albert died in 1882, Julia inherited £2000 and the hotel and ran the business for a further decade, building a substantial property and mortgage portfolio²⁰³ so that when she died estate was worth £6203.²⁰⁴

¹⁹⁹ Dickenson, J.L. (1993) *Picks, Pans and Petticoats: Women on the Central Otago Goldfields*, Bachelor of Arts Honours Thesis, University of Otago, p. 32.

²⁰⁰ Dickenson, p. 45

²⁰¹ Brasch, C., Nicolson, C.R. (1973) *Hallensteins – The First Century 1873 – 1973* (Dunedin: Hallenstein Bros), p. 14.

²⁰² Eichardt, Albert; Bracken's gully, Arrow field, 6 March, 1863 Archives New Zealand Dunedin Office: Arrow Town Wardens Court Registration Book of Extended Claims, Transfers, Protected Claims, Container Code C 739 004 Reference Number AE PG D568 22784 box 75.

²⁰³ Sandra Quick, *'the Colonial Helpmeet Takes a Dram: Women Participants in the Central Otago Goldfields Liquor Industry 1861 – 1901*, Unpublished Master's Thesis, University of Otago, 1997, pp. 41-42.

²⁰⁴ Eichardt, Julia, Archives New Zealand Dunedin Office, Testamentary Register 1886 - 1892 C 720 957 DAGI

John and Charlotte Perriam were significant settlers in the Lowburn area, with John developing a number of large scale sluicing claims from 1863 through till the early 1870s. He had claims at the Kawarau²⁰⁵ and stores at Kawarau Gorge²⁰⁶ and initially at Quartz Reef Point, where he opened a store and hotel.²⁰⁷ After the store was shifted across the River to Lowburn, Perriam organised the first horse racing on Cromwell flat in 1865, Cromwell's first Caledonian Sports meeting in 1866²⁰⁸, and was, with William Jackson Barry and the Cromwell Company's Logan and Goodger, a major driving force behind the newly-built Cromwell hospital.²⁰⁹ He also briefly had a store at Logantown at Bendigo. At the Aurora claim on Bendigo, of all the various directors and shareholders, only the Perriams made money – and then only because they chose to sell up all their Bendigo business interests and all but a minor shareholding in the Aurora in April, 1870.

The substantial hotel that people picture as the Welcome Home Hotel in Lowburn (see FIGURE 9.1) actually reflects the structure built after John's death in 1883. It is fair to say that while John was a successful miner and had good judgement as to when to bail out off a losing proposition such as he did at Bendigo, his drinking caused a few problems at the hotel, to the point that in June 1883, the licensing board received complaints from the police about his intemperate habits.²¹⁰ Charlotte Perriam substantially increased the size, turnover, range of services and value of the Welcome Home Hotel complex and as such should be regarded as one of the successful pioneers of the district.

An intriguing aspect to both of these is that each operation was established using gold to seed the mercantile enterprise. In Dunedin, the large furniture retailer Scoullar and North is just one of many of the city's firms originally established by miners.²¹¹ George Goodger's story as miner-turned-merchant in Cromwell is replicated in a dozen Otago towns, where the allure of standing in a dangerous, freezing river or swinging a hammer 400ft underground to win gold, fades when compared with a more settled business life.

²⁰⁵ Warden's Court, *Dunstan Times*, 16 August, 1867, p. 2.

²⁰⁶ 'Cromwell', *Dunstan Times*, 7 February 1868, p. 2.

²⁰⁷ 'The Dunstan', *Otago Daily Times*, 10 August 1865, p. 7.

²⁰⁸ Advertisements, *Dunstan Times*, 28 December 1866, p. 2.

²⁰⁹ Numerous references in the *Dunstan Times* detail this.

²¹⁰ Licensing Board, *Cromwell Argus*, 12 June 1883, p. 3.

²¹¹ 'Scoullar and Chisolm', *Cyclopedia of New Zealand* Vol. 4, pp. 313-4; Advertisements, *Otago Daily Times*, 15 October 1869, p. 2, Advertisements, 22 October 1874, p. 3; Obituary, 5 July 1899, p. 6.



FIGURE 9.1 Charlotte Perriam's Hotel and Store c. 1900 (Charlotte seated in centre of photograph) Photograph Mawson Partridge Collection, use courtesy of Theresa Partridge, Cromwell.

Miners' Riches

It is easy to forget just how rich the rivers of Central Otago could be for some miners. The haul that started the rush was Hartley and Riley's vast 87 pound gold deposit in August, 1862, but subsequent reports show that theirs was not the only success, nor was it the biggest, with comments like 'miners are earning in a few days amounts as large as Hartley and Riley did in months'²¹² and 'your genuine Dunstan miner won't listen to [reports of fresh discoveries] unless they rise to pounds weight'²¹³ featuring in the newspapers. Other comments reveal the richness of the Dunstan: 'the finds obtained by many of the [Dunstan] miners would even astonish those who have seen that "jewellers shops" of Ballarat, or the results of a day's washing from claims in the far famed Eaglehawk, Bendigo.'²¹⁴ One prospector testing the gravels of the Kawarau River, observed that 'the farther they got on to the bed of the river the gold became heavier and more plentiful' and exclaimed 'that he'd be blow'd if there wasn't tons of gold in the bed of the river.'²¹⁵

As a writer at the New South Wales rush commented 'none of the miners like to make

²¹² 'The Dunstan', *Otago Witness*, 27 December 1862, p. 2.

²¹³ 'Dunstan', *Otago Daily Times*, 2 December 1862, p. 5.

²¹⁴ 'Dunstan Diggings', *Otago Daily Times*, 27 September 1862, p. 5.

²¹⁵ 'Dunstan', *Otago Witness*, 4 October 1862, p. 8.

known the proceeds of the labours – the most communicative are the very fortunate and the unfortunate, the latter because they have nothing to be robbed of, and the former because they take great pleasure in talking of their luck.’²¹⁶ Many miners extracted immense golden wealth from the freezing waters of the Shotover, Arrow or Clutha rivers, taking their fortunes ‘home’ to Britain, Australia or America or elsewhere in New Zealand to invest and live the life their toil had afforded them.²¹⁷ William Jackson Barry observed the development of the Arrow field, saying ‘gold was being obtained in immense quantities, and many miners went home with their piles from the Arrow’, while the journals of Watmuff,²¹⁸ Houston, Money and other Otago writers are unequivocal that many of their contemporaries were striking gold in incredible quantities.

The stories of wealth found at Bendigo (VIC) are equally as rich, with E. Bright remembering

‘I got the first alluvial gold at Sandy Creek, and my brother the first surface gold in January, 1853 my brother picked up the first surface gold. I got the alluvial gold in a dried-up waterhole. The dirt gave about 2 dwt. to the dish. I also picked up a piece of surface gold on the hill nearly 3lb. weight. We joined two mates and worked at Peg-leg Gully, where we got from 8 to 12oz. of gold per day. We used to just break the dirt and every second blow of the pick used to reveal gold.’²¹⁹

Early reports of the Turon laconically mentioned ‘71 ozs. in the hands of one group, another 40 and several 10, 12, and 20 ozs... [and] considerable quantities of gold were taken out of Sofala Reach last week’ for the result of just a few day’s work.²²⁰ G. Butler Earp’s breathless travelogue of 1853 breathlessly listed examples of miners’ wealth in late 1851, such as at the Victorian fields,

‘Seven men obtained nine pounds of gold in one day; four got four pounds; another party of four, three and three-quarter pounds, &c.; every stream turning out a Pactolus.... The *Melbourne Herald*, of the 10th of December [1851], stated that a *ton and a half of gold* was waiting in Commissioner Powlett’s tent for the escort. At Mount Alexander, a man obtained eighty pounds weight of gold in a single hour!’²²¹

²¹⁶ ‘The Diggings’, *Sydney Morning Herald*, 6 June 1851, p. 2.

²¹⁷ ‘The Goldfields’, *Otago Daily Times*, 30 April 1868, p. 5.

²¹⁸ Watmuff, *Journals*, entries 2/310, 3/5, 3/8, 3/28 and others

²¹⁹ ‘Bendigo Goldfields, An Adelaide Pioneer – A Story of the Early Days’, *Advertiser* (Adelaide), 29 January 1910, p. 10.

²²⁰ ‘Turon’, *Sydney Empire*, 21 January, 1854, p. 3.

²²¹ G. Butler Earp *The Gold Colonies of Australia, Their History & Progress, With Ample Details of the Gold Mines, How To Get To Them, and Every Advice to Emigrants*, (Routledge & Co., London, 1853 (The Fortieth Thousand)), p. 215, (emphasis in original).

Miners who were successful, often quietly sold their claim still while it was still producing good gold returns and either returned to Australia to purchase land, went farming in New Zealand or simply returned to where they had come from in Europe or Britain. The presence of settlements called 'Bendigo' in South Africa, Orkney, and Pennsylvania, and estates called 'Clutha' in Yorkshire, 'Ballarat' in California and 'Tuapeka' near Edinburgh all quietly testify to the migration of successful miners investing their gold winnings in property and businesses.

It is a facile conclusion, too often drawn, that the miners who worked claims in California for small success, shifted to New South Wales then Victoria for equally mixed results, then pursued their dreams of striking it rich to Tuapeka, Dunstan, the West Coast and Thames were somehow the majority and their lack of persistence, perpetual migration and eventual death with a small accumulation to their name can be shown to be the experience of the majority of miners. There appears to have been a general regard for mining as the means to an end, whereby the wealth accumulated can be invested in agriculture or business, rather than a lifestyle which was preferred. When Charles O'Donnell died, leaving an estate worth £1111, his occupation was listed as 'farmer', reflecting where he had invested his gold and business earnings. In the late 19th century, many farmers, small business owners and merchants of various kinds who led a life of successful enterprise and who died leaving significant sums reflecting their life's work, did not necessarily show that they got their start mining gold from the freezing waters of the Dunstan goldfield. This problem means that much of the truly wealthy of the goldfields cannot be discovered.

Conclusion

There was a divide between miners and merchants on the goldfields, but the divide was not one of wealth or even of the degree to which earnings were hard-won. The divide was simply along the nature of urban resident and mining cottage dweller, of business-owner and miner. The nature of their respective operations produced a naturally dichotomised society, but the relationship between each was more symbiotic than adversarial. Through investments and shareholdings the goldfields merchants shared in the work and rewards of the miners, in addition to making some retail profit off their spending, but the simple economic law of arbitrage attenuated any attempts at excessive profitability in pricing.

The early legends of free-spending miners shouting champagne for all to celebrate spectacular finds certainly happened (producing ‘Champagne Gully’ in the Cromwell Gorge), and no goldfields hotelier was foolish enough to duck the opportunity to profit from such extravagance. But the behaviour of celebratory miners was not coerced or the product of trickery, nor did it persist as the new fields became civilised by authorities, the presence of women and the creation of permanent towns and villages. and a useful point of comparison would be to take my conclusions and use them to inform studies for the Californian, Australian and Canadian fields.

Some merchants, particularly those of larger urban centres like Dunedin, did very well out of the gold rush, as their equivalents in Melbourne and San Francisco had done, and their successes almost certainly contributed to the successful-merchant/poor-miner myth. But the suggestion that because the Dunedin engineering firm of Kincaid and MacQueen did well out of the rush, that Bendigo retailers Mitchinson and Harrison must have earned great wealth is manifestly untrue. Like all generalisations, the myth that only the merchants made money on the goldfields can be proven in the exception but disproved in general.

Terry Hearn said of Naseby (Otago):

Members of [the storekeeper] community had long taken an active part in Naseby’s social and public as well as its economic life. They participated fully in local government, the organisation of public events, volunteering, benevolent, philanthropic and educational groups and associations. Above all, they were drawn together by their interests in land, farming and especially mining. They were active in the protracted efforts to have land made available for settlement by the subdivision of the pastoral runs. They work to the forefront in encouraging prospecting and increasing Government to construct water storage schemes, in promoting new mining ventures, marshalling capital, introducing new technology, forging links with the Dunedin capital market, managing companies, and, of course, investing heavily themselves.²²²

Merchants pushed the land reform agenda²²³, spoke up when gold revenues were not spent on local infrastructure and who built the towns where miners could settle down and establish communities and a life in New Zealand. Just as Hearn wrote of their equivalents at Naseby, Bendigo’s merchants organised the annual Boxing Day Sports Meeting,²²⁴

²²² Hearn, T.J. (1988) *Nenthorn – Gold and the Gullible* (Dunedin: Otago Heritage Books), p. 6.

²²³ Hamer, D., *Towns*, p.14; Brooking, T., ‘Use it or Lose it’, pp. 145-153.

²²⁴ Advertisements, *Dunstan Times*, 31 December 1869, p.2.

community picnics²²⁵ and were the main agitators for the establishment of a miners' accident fund²²⁶.

They were far more than 'boosters' of their local patch trying to arrest the inevitable economic slide which followed the diminution of gold finds; they were determinedly constructing what they clearly viewed as their new home. Boosterism would feature as town leaders worked to transition their towns into rural service centres independent of gold as the last of the quartz mines closed and the era of gold dredging ended²²⁷, and several merchants canvassed in this chapter were prominent in this role, but in the early years, establishing economic resiliency was a greater priority.

A "Sheeny" was there with the "wipes" in his hand –
 "Outside the 'All-Nations'," says he, "I've had a stand,
 Vere I sells pocket-books, and knives, scissors, and rings,
 Cold pags, and all manner of very nice tings."
 Charles R. Thatcher²²⁸

²²⁵ 'Cromwell', *Otago Witness*, 17 November 1865, p. 3.

²²⁶ 'Bendigo', *Cromwell Argus*, 1 December 1875, p. 2.

²²⁷ McAloon, J., 'The New Zealand Economy', p. 206.

²²⁸ Charles R. Thatcher, 'Cockatoo Jack' in Robert Hoskins, *Goldfield Balladeer*, (Auckland, Collins, 1977), p. 172.

PART THREE – Bendigo *Redivivus*

Chapter 10 – Conclusion

‘[In] celebrating some bits and forgetting others, heritage reshapes a past made easy to embrace. And just as heritage practitioners take pride in creating artifice, the public enjoys consuming it. Departures from history distress only a handful of highbrows. Most neither seek historical veracity nor mind its absence’.

David Lowenthal²²⁹

Introduction

Central Otago has layers of history, beginning with moa-hunting Māori,²³⁰ followed centuries later by the sheep station owners and miners of the nineteenth century, and most recently the farmers, fruit-growers, dam-builders and vintners of ‘Central’. The historical landscape is both incorporated into and exists alongside the modern: a goldfields bakery sits among new Riesling vines (see FIGURE 10.1), an iconic Cromwell store is rescued from a hydroelectric lake to become a café, a miner’s cottage ruin is reborn as an American ‘Wild West’ Indian settlement in a cowboy movie, a dry water race becomes a mountain-bikers’ scenic cycleway, and thrill-seekers dangle from bungee cords attached to a bridge built for nineteenth century horse-drawn wagons. This re-purposing subsumes the complexities of the history, containing and concealing the layers within the heritage, especially that which is mediated as a mythic, romanticised simplicity in popular rush narratives. However, much of the heritage of the goldfields is neither re-purposed nor is it mediated in any way and is therefore mute, nearly anonymous and is simplified into little beyond the visual. The perception of visitors and locals alike is therefore constructed on a kind of facile picturesque, and so the real history remains untold.

The visitor to the mining ghost-town at the historic reserve of Bendigo steps over an old race, skirts a bluish rock-pile while giving a yawning mineshaft a wide berth, all in order

²²⁹ Lowenthal, D., *Possessed by the Past – The Heritage Crusade and the Spoils of History*, (New York: Free Press, 1996), p. 13.

²³⁰ Anderson S. *Prodigious birds: Moas and Moa-hunting in Prehistoric New Zealand*, (Cambridge, Cambridge UP, 1989), p. 171-87.

to experience a frisson of romantic poignancy at the sight of a crumbling old miner's cottage, and therefore fails to comprehend the dynamic processes which involving a complex matrix of risk-taking, financial partnerships, interactions with goldfields authorities, resource management, the development of technologies and the organisation of labour that underpins what remains.



FIGURE 10.1 The Scott's Bakery ruin (centre right), Bendigo among modern grapevines. Remnant of Goodall's store in centre foreground.

Bendigo, the abandoned gold town high on the tussock-covered hills north of Cromwell, which I have used as the exemplar for much of this thesis was a place where fortunes were made, lives were lost and where the landscape was battled, shaped and mastered to wrest gold from its complex geology. As a quintessential example of Central Otago mining heritage, it offers information panels, walking tracks and hundreds of gold rush-era structures, and yet it is still the case that there are landscapes within the heritage landscape which are hidden from the twenty first century visitor to the reserve.

In this concluding chapter, I examine the layers beneath the veneer of picturesque and re-state my case for the value of a further understanding of the complex actions and interactions that are the true heritage of a place like Bendigo.

The Layered Landscapes of Bendigo:

Landscapes frame our lives and shape our perspective on heritage. According to Hugill and Foote, 'because landscapes embody fundamental organizing principles for the form and structure of peoples' activities, they serve both as a material construct that communicates

information and as a kind of historical text,²³¹ and Cosgrove adds that ‘landscape is not merely the world we see, it is a construction, a composition of that world.’²³² Therefore, anyone who encounters any landscape – particularly a heritage landscape – is not seeing or encountering what is necessarily present in that landscape, or as Paul Tacon characterises it, ‘experience, history, value systems, relationships, circumstance, and individual choices all play a part in how landscapes are described’.²³³ Anschuetz, Wilshusen, and Scheick’s theory that ‘because landscapes communicate information on how communities interacted with their environments over time, they serve as a medium for meaningful cross-cultural dialogue on the construction and reproduction of affiliations with places’²³⁴ means it is therefore appropriate to consider and elucidate the layers beneath the picturesque veneer in the gold rush heritage landscape of Bendigo and to consider the enduring legacy of the gold rush today. Landscape has been proven to have a defined cultural significance in Otago; the wide-open, ‘big sky’ vistas which wow the visitor at every turn were judged so important to the identity of the region that the likely impact on them was sufficient to prevent the construction of a wind farm there in 2009.²³⁵

A Gold ‘Rush’ Landscape

In August of 1862, Hartley and Reilly’s spectacular gold find²³⁶ transformed Central Otago’s social, demographic and physical landscape, just as James Marshall’s find at Sutter’s Mill and Edward Hargreaves’ discovery at Bathurst changed California and Australia respectively. Riverbanks were turned over, gullies sluiced, quartz deposits quarried and riverbeds dredged, shaping and scarring the land to imbue every vista with evidence of the gold quest, and where once a few sheep grazed, new gold towns opened for business.

The cultural heritage of the gold rush is evident throughout the province: stories of the rush underscore local business narratives, water races provide farm and vineyard irrigation, buildings from the rush are re-purposed to service the boom in Central Otago tourism and

²³¹ Hugill, P. J., and Foote, K. E., ‘Re-reading cultural geography’ in Foote, K. E., Hugill, P. J., Mathewson, K., and Smith, J. M. (eds.), *Re-Reading Cultural Geography*, (University of Texas Press, Austin, 1995), p. 20.

²³² Cosgrove, D. E., ‘Prospect, Perspective and the Evolution of the Landscape Idea’, *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* 1985, 10: p. 47.

²³³ Tacon, P. S. C., ‘Identifying ancient sacred landscapes in Australia: From physical to social’ in Ashmore, W., and Knapp, A. B. (eds.), *Archaeologies of Landscape: Contemporary Perspectives*, (Blackwell Publishers, Malden, MA, 1999) p. 34.

²³⁴ Kurt F. Anschuetz, Richard H. Wilshusen, and Cherie L. Scheick, ‘An Archaeology of Landscapes: Perspectives and Directions’, *Journal of Archaeological Research*, Vol. 9, No. 2, 2001, p. 163.

²³⁵ <http://www.justice.govt.nz/courts/environment-court/documents/Lammermoor%20Ch%208.pdf>

²³⁶ ‘The Hartley Diggings’, *Otago Daily Times*, 23 August 1862, p. 7.

images of the rush appear on wine labels.²³⁷ At Bendigo, the abandoned ruin of Scott's bakery is surrounded on three sides by modern vineyards, making the modern and the past an incongruous juxtaposition (see FIGURE 10.1). The rush-wrought landscape is emphasised on visitor websites: The New Zealand Government's *100% Pure NZ* tourism website invites visitors to 'explore well-preserved and easily accessible towns, landscapes and sites shaped by thousands of fortune seekers during the 1860s gold rush' and notes that 'Central Otago's heritage is rich with gold and thoroughly unique ... not only because the region was once the pivot of the country's fortunes, but also because of the copious historic riches that endure, all preserved by Central Otago's harsh, dry climate'.²³⁸ The Central Otago District Council's visitor site emphasises the pervasive evidence from the time when 'people shaped a landscape and left a social and cultural legacy that is part of what makes Central Otago so unique,' and invites visitors to 'discover towering sluiced cliffs, herringbone tailings and tailing piles, tunnels, water races, tailraces, dams, mining equipment, substantial machinery, impressive stone masonry, mud-brick cottages and assorted relics.'²³⁹

Using Bendigo as an exemplar, it is useful to consider what makes such heritage landscapes of paradigmatic importance in debates surrounding the construction and transmission of a historic dialogue. The most powerful and enduring heritage narratives, I would argue, are situated at a confluence of history, politics and geography. In this regard, Bendigo's worth has less to do with its spectacular beauty, and more to do with its unique location in time and place, as a key component in the Central Otago gold rush, protected under the strict code of New Zealand's Historic Places legislation. Bendigo's role has largely faded from the collective memory due to its isolation and dereliction prior to its gazetting as a

²³⁷ Susan Caple found that there was a prevalent identification with the risk-taking attitude of the miners in the rush era with the experiences of Central Otago vintners: 'They empathise with the risks the gold-miners took in their efforts, as they had their own struggle with growing grapes and refer to themselves as wine pioneers.' (Caple, S.M., *An Investigation into the Role of Collaboration in the Development of a Regional Brand*, PhD Thesis, University of Otago, 2011, p. 210). Sarah Elliott of Terra Sancta Wines (Bannockburn) uses their property's lineage in the gold rush to contextualise their product and 'do more than just say "Here's some wine, please try it"; offering the culture of our place - and its proximity to the gold workings - to add to the experience in the tasting room,' (pers. comm., 13 June 2012) while Jeff Price of 3 Miners says 'the gold rush was always our starting point; our company is called "Miners' Lane" after the bridle path which crossed our property, and our name came from the three mining claims that were worked on the boundaries of our property' (pers. comm., 8 June 2012).

²³⁸ Von Michelle Kinney, 100% Pure New Zealand Website, Central Otago's Rich and Unique Heritage – Gold, <http://www.newzealand.com/de/article/central-otagos-rich-and-unique-heritage--gold/> updated August, 2012; accessed 8 April, 2013.

²³⁹ Anonymous, Central Otago 'World of Difference' Website, <http://www.centralotagonz.com/otagos-gold-heritage>, accessed 8 April, 2013.

Historic Reserve under the status of 'Protected Private Land' in 1983²⁴⁰ and its move into the Crown estate under management by the Department of Conservation in 1994²⁴¹. Most Otago gold towns continue to be lived in, distorting the archaeological heritage utterly. Bendigo's high altitude and extremes of baking summers and freezing winters drove its remaining residents to gentler climes, so no-one has knocked down heritage buildings to build new faux-goldfields heritage developments like Arrowtown, Alexandra, or Queenstown, nor has a hydro-electric lake drowned the gold history like Cromwell or Lowburn. And lying at the end of a four kilometre access road, it is also the most accessible abandoned gold town in the region.

Nevertheless, and despite the spectacular beauty of Bendigo, the structures - although haunting in their romantic/romanticised beauty - are examples of vernacular construction; they are the unremarkable, accidentally (through a lack of choice of alternative building materials as is noted below) enduring product of miner's self-builds, not the kinds of spectacular edifices which attract UNESCO World Heritage listings and the esteem of Art Historians, Architectural Heritage advocates and attention as 'must-see' cultural landscapes. One of the reasons for this lies in the relative anonymity of most of the structures; at Bendigo, even the poignant remnant of the house destroyed through the miners' strike of 1881 (see Chapter eight) lacks a complete narrative and has no owner identified, and, at least for much of Otago, the relative common occurrence of similar ruins (albeit without the drama of its partial destruction)

A Sequestered Landscape

Sequestered rush landscapes are found throughout Otago, defined as public reserves managed by the Department of Conservation²⁴². In addition to managing National Parks and

²⁴⁰ This was described as 'An Historic Reserve of 115ha currently under the status of Protected Private Land centred on the remains of the old gold mining township of Logan town, [which] was gazetted in March 1983' in the documents related to the High Country land tenure review of the Bendigo Station 1991-94.

²⁴¹ Bendigo Station pastoral lease, Po 221 / Po 223, Dunstan Mountains, Otago Land District, Tenure review approved by Commissioner of Crown Lands (September) 1994.

²⁴² Under the Conservation Act 1987, The Department of Conservation was created to integrate the functions of the Department of Lands and Survey, the Forest Service and The Wildlife Service. The Department of Conservation's mission is: To conserve New Zealand's natural and historic heritage for all to enjoy now and in the future. The Department's key functions are described under the Conservation Act (summarised):

- manage, for conservation purposes, all land and other natural and historic resources held under the Conservation Act
- preserve, so far as practicable, all indigenous freshwater fisheries
- protect recreational freshwater fisheries and freshwater fish habitats
- advocate the conservation of natural and historic resources generally

conserving the natural flora and fauna of New Zealand, this department is tasked with ‘managing a substantial heritage portfolio of over 12,000 archaeological and historic sites, including the active conservation of approximately 600 historic places and the promotion of 20 historic places as “New Zealand’s Historic Icons”’.²⁴³

When the Department of Conservation was created in 1987, in Otago it inherited a legacy of nearly 2 decades of focused work to protect, interpret and make available significant sites from the gold rush era in the form of the ‘Otago Goldfields Park’. This was given official impetus in 1971 when Director of National Parks and Reserves Mr B.H.C. Lucas proposed the creation of the park ‘to serve as a prime visitor attraction while preserving as a permanent cultural asset a cross-section of the history of the goldrush era of a century ago.’ It was formally established by the Minister of Lands in 1973 and a comprehensive programme of investigation and site selection based on the themes of discovery, communications, mining techniques and lifestyle was carried out in 1975 by ranger Bruce Mason, which saw 10 major areas included in the park, a further 20 identified as lower priority and another 20 deferred. Beginning in 1980, an acquisition program saw most of the 10 major sites included in the park and prepared for public view with tracks, interpretation and active management of the built heritage. Further acquisitions over the next decade saw 10 more added to this to complete a schedule of 22 sites scattered throughout Otago.²⁴⁴ As part of this programme, the Bendigo Historic Reserve was gazetted as a reserve

-
- promote the benefits to present and future generations of conservation of natural and historic resources
 - prepare, provide, distribute, promote and publicise conservation information
 - foster recreation and allow tourism, to the extent that the use of any natural and historic resource is not inconsistent with its conservation
 - advise the Minister on matters relating to any of the above functions or to conservation generally.

The Department directly and indirectly contributes toward achieving the Government’s priorities for the next decade:

- Economic transformation
- Families – young and old
- National identity.

Together with its legislation, these goals provide the Department with a vision for the overall outcome it is working towards: New Zealand’s natural and historic heritage is protected; people enjoy it and are involved with the Department in its conservation. To help achieve this vision and fulfil its legislated conservation responsibilities, the Department has identified two inter-related high level outcomes:

- Protection: New Zealand’s natural and historic heritage is protected and restored.
- Appreciation: People enjoy and benefit from New Zealand’s natural and historic heritage and are connected with conservation.

²⁴³ Department of Conservation Website > Conservation > Historic > Managing Heritage > DOCs Role in Historic Heritage <http://www.doc.govt.nz/conservation/historic/managing-heritage/docs-role/> accessed 8 April, 2013.

²⁴⁴ This summary is from *Managing the Otago Goldfields Park*, a paper presented at a seminar on Industrial Archaeology in New Zealand, Christchurch (29 – 30 March 1983) by Tony Perrett, Reserves Ranger, Department of Lands and Survey, Otago. Publication updated by the Department of Conservation, 2010.

of 115 hectares centred on the township of Logantown in March 1983 under the Reserves Act 1977.

Many of the sites within the Goldfields Park had the status of 'Historic Reserves' on private land; but from the mid-1990s the Department of Conservation, acting on the review of high country sheep station lease tenure, brought a number of these sites into the public conservation estate. Bendigo was the first added under this process in 1993, following the review of Bendigo Station.²⁴⁵ Similar developments led to historic reserves at the Lindis Pass Hotel, Northburn's 'herringbone' sluicings, Bannockburn, the Golden Progress poppet head at Oturehua and others. Each reserve has signposted road access, free entry, interpretation panels and a network of walking tracks; each is intended to preserve and elucidate aspects of the gold rush.

A Mining Heritage Landscape

Bendigo has discrete examples of each of the four main phases of mining within the reserve: in the creek beds lie 'hummocks' marking alluvial mining by individual miners working their own claims; in Rise and Shine Basin and in lower Bendigo Gully vast scarps show the results of hydraulic sluicing; in the hills above and around the settlement of Logantown, hundreds of prospecting pits, shafts, adits, foundations of quartz crushing machinery and mullock piles reveal quartz mining's legacy, and a tailings pile and dredge ladder at the foot of the hill shows where the Bendigo Goldlight Company Dredge operated in the 1930s. By contrast the Nevis Valley had sluicing and dredging, Macetown and Bullendale were quartz only, while the few others that saw all four (Skippers, Shotover, Tuapeka and Nokomai) either do not have towns remaining, have widely dispersed remains which are inaccessible or the towns no longer exist.

The full site schedule of the Otago Goldfields Park was: Dead Horse Pinch, SH85 (Pigroot); Golden Point Battery, Macraes; Pioneer Stream and Otago Pioneer Quartz Reserve, Waipori; Gabriel's Gully, Lawrence; Lonely Graves, Millers Flat; Gorge Creek and Chamonix; Mitchells Cottage, Fruitlands; Alexandra Courthouse; Earnsclough Dredge Tailings; St Bathans; Bendigo; Northburn Sluicings; Bannockburn Sluicings and Stewart town; Young Australian Mine, Carrick Range; Kawarau Gorge Mining Centre; Kawarau Suspension Bridge; Arrowtown Chinese settlement; Macetown; Oxenbridge Tunnel; Invincible Mine, Rees Valley; Chinatown, Cromwell (now lost beneath the Clyde hydroelectric dam's Lake Dunstan); Golden Progress Mine, Oturehua.

²⁴⁵ Bendigo (1994) Land Tenure Review File, <http://www.linz.govt.nz/docs/crownproperty/tenure-review/heads-of-agreement/bendigo-pt1.pdf> updated February 1998, accessed 3 February 2009.

The significance of the Bendigo Historic Reserve derives from the size of the reserve, the diversity of heritage remains, and its abandoned, unaltered state.²⁴⁶ Evidence of people's lives can be seen in the remains of their cottages and tent sites, the foundations and ruins of hotels and stores they frequented, the hall they built and the school to which they sent their children, clustered in residential areas at Bendigo Gully, Bendigo, Logantown, Welshtown and the Rise and Shine Basin.

In a heritage landscape preserved in a state of 'arrested decay' and with romantic ruins and stunning vistas, considerable research is required to recover the myriad of legal, industrial and social developments that combined over nearly a century to shape the landscape. Understanding such processes gives the site depth and life, rather than allowing it to remain a picturesque but ultimately quite meaningless 'heritage' spectacle. As Hall warned, '[heritage] becomes a retrospective, nation-alised and tradition-alised conception of culture',²⁴⁷ yet Lowenthal suggests that attempts to elucidate history works against heritage as a concept: 'Heritage attests our identity and affirms our worth History tells all who will listen what has happened and how things came to be as they are. Heritage passes on exclusive myths of origin and endurance, endowing us alone with prestige and purpose.'²⁴⁸ Its history largely un-told, the empty, quiet, memorialised Bendigo reserve is a landscape trapped in and by its heritage guise, ignoring the influence of the geological, mining and administrative factors that led to its creation and *raison d'être* and preventing comparison with modern life.

The most critical dynamic factor in shaping this, and every Otago goldfields landscape, is water.

A Water-wrought Landscape

In each gold rush around the world, miners arriving from other places had to adapt mining methodology to suit the topography, weather, water availability and gold distribution in their new home. The distinctive landscape and climate of Central Otago created a special impetus to innovation. The starting point for all industry, mining processes and settlement in any Otago goldfields landscape study begins with the administrative, archaeological and

²⁴⁶ Carpenter, L. Beyond Spectacular Beauty: The Heritage Experience at the Central Otago Mining Town of Bendigo, in proceedings of 'On The Surface: The Heritage of Mines and Mining' Innsbruck, Austria, April 14-16, 2011, Centre for Tourism and Cultural Change, Leeds Metropolitan University with the University of Innsbruck, p. 5.

²⁴⁷ Hall, S., 'Whose Heritage? Unsettling "the Heritage"', *Reimagining the Post-Nation*, *Third Text*, 49 (winter 1999 – 2000), p. 4.

²⁴⁸ Lowenthal, D. 'Fabricating Heritage', *History and Memory*, 10, 1998, (1), p. 8.

geographical influence of water. Each water race represents an archive of colonial resource management and allocation, collective organisation and planning, innovative financing practices and carefully-learned gold mining techniques.

An example is the Aurora syndicate's water race at Bendigo. In 1865, miners at living at Bendigo Gully seized on a surveyor's report that there were gold reserves in 'long continued auriferous layers of uniform depths at Bendigo'²⁴⁹ and decided to build a water race to become large-scale sluicers to access these riches. They obtained rights to water at Devils Creek and teamed up with businessmen from the town of Clyde to form the 'Aurora' sluicing syndicate in a system of 'sleepers' and 'active' shareholders.²⁵⁰ When completed, their water race would be 11 miles long, flumed across gullies, benched into slopes, bridging chasms with siphons, tunnelling through bluffs and following the subtle contours of all sites to build their race. The Aurora syndicate completed the job in 13 months and reported high returns.²⁵¹

The old Aurora claim area in Bendigo Gully is an outstanding example of a sluiced landscape with a high scarp wall (FIGURE 10.2). The dry vestige of their water race slides almost anonymously across the goldfields landscape and in its modest remnant, conceals the time, effort and mix of labour and capital which facilitated its construction and obscures the fact that its successful development allowed each shareholder – whether a small-town butcher at Clyde or alluvial miner living in Bendigo Gully – to earn riches by finding very good gold.²⁵²

²⁴⁹ 'Warden's Reports', *Otago Witness*, 23 September 1865, p. 6.

²⁵⁰ Vincent Pyke, 'Warden's Report', *Dunstan Times*, 6 January 1866, p. 2.

²⁵¹ 'Cromwell', *Dunstan Times*, April 26 1867, p. 2.

²⁵² 'Cromwell Mining', *Dunstan Times*, 18 February 1868, p. 3; this financing methodology is covered in detail in chapter 7 of this thesis, *The Clutha's First Dam: the Nil Desperandum Project*.



FIGURE 10.2 The Aurora Company's sluicing area, Bendigo Gully (note the example of a sluice claim boundary 'butte' structure, as discussed previously). Photograph L. Carpenter

This race had a second life which transformed the landscape anew. In mid-1869, Aurora miners found an auriferous reef northeast of Logan's Cromwell Company ground,²⁵³ re-routing the race from their sluicing claim and fluming it to where they built a 27-foot wooden water wheel and quartz battery above Logantown. They began sinking shafts into the hillside and maximised their water resource by commissioning an additional public quartz battery for local miners developing claims. This latter development prompted the surrounding groups to build a network of dray roads to the Aurora site for ore samples to be tested.²⁵⁴ These routes, such as the 1870 Colclough track and the 1874 'Hit and Miss' company road (FIGURE 10.3) with their easy gradient and robust construction have been re-purposed as walking tracks for the reserves Aurora Track, hiding the reasons behind their construction in their new function. The Aurora water race is one of the principal conduits of Bendigo's history, belying its near-anonymity as an old watercourse, despite lacking the romance of lonely cottage ruins.

²⁵³ 'Cromwell', *Dunstan Times*, May 28 1869, p.2.

²⁵⁴ 'Bendigo Reefs', *Dunstan Times*, April 13 1870, p.2.



FIGURE 10.3 Two views of the Hit and Miss dray road to the Aurora Quartz battery site, now used as Department of Conservation walkways.

A Silenced Landscape

Above all, it is the pervading silence at the reserve which is most at variance with the heyday of Bendigo, the time in early 1870 when a ‘quartz mania’ there emptied nearby towns and produced a frenzy of quartz prospecting, share speculation and a population of over 500.²⁵⁵

A visitor to Bendigo had to cross the Clutha on one of two punts at the ferry settlement of Wakefield, shake off the entreaties of the puntmen ‘to have a drink for the good of the house’,²⁵⁶ then travel a mile to the mouth of Bendigo Creek, where the surveyed township of Bendigo was marked out near the Cromwell Company’s Solway Battery. As well as five or six iron cottages, the town boasted William Goodall’s Bendigo Reefs Hotel and Josiah Mitchinson’s Wakefield Store and opposite them, William Smith’s Solway Hotel and Scott’s Bakery.

The aural landscape of this tiny settlement was complex and loud. The Solway’s 10 metal stampers crashed down on auriferous quartz 24 hours a day, six days a week. Added to this were the voices of the business owners, who battled varying fortunes as Bendigo’s quartz cheered and disappointed by turn. Mitchinson, Smith, Scott and Goodall, far from passive spectators, would hail each passing visitor, determined to lighten their purse before they began the climb to the main town of Logantown and the quartz mines higher still.

Having prised themselves away from the Bendigo traders and beginning the ascent of the steep dray road scraped from the side of the hill, the visitor would encounter the bulk transporters of the nineteenth century in the form of swearing, dust-covered contractors like

²⁵⁵ ‘The Bendigo Gully Quartz Reefs’, *Otago Witness*, 20 November 1869, p. 13; ‘Letters from the Goldfields – Cromwell’, 22 August 1874, p. 6.

²⁵⁶ Bathgate, A. (1874) *Colonial Experiences or Sketches of People and Places in the Province of Otago, New Zealand*, (Glasgow, James Maclehose, 1874), p. 98.

Henry Partridge, Archie McLeod or Neil Peyton, battling bullock teams harnessed to drays creaking under quartz ore loads as they drove down from the Cromwell Company mine to the company's Solway battery.²⁵⁷

Two miles up the hill was Logantown, the unofficial boom town which had sprung into existence in late 1869. Its soundscape was underscored by echoes of the Solway battery's percussive thumps below and those of the huge Aurora machine above, with the ring of Lindsay's blacksmith's hammer adding a discordant beat to the batteries' rhythm. Cheerful shouts from Stevenson's A1 Bakery announced a batch of fresh bread, while a bustle of noise emerged from Mrs Francis Mercer's canvas-walled Temperance Restaurant²⁵⁸, and in each of the dozen or so canvas or corrugated iron structures serving as hotels and stores along Logantown's straggling main street, snatches of fevered discussions about quartz discoveries and share prices could be heard. From the slopes above the settlement came the ring of pick and gad, mixed with the squeak of windlasses on prospecting shafts. More voices echoed from the outcrops, some disputing boundaries, partnerships or water use, others cursing barren quartz or celebrating rich stone.

The daytime soundscape of mining and commerce transformed at night into merriment of a different kind. Laughter and revelry was as much part of daily life as the hardship and risk traditionally associated with mining. Aside from alcohol-fuelled cheerfulness at hotels, Bendigo earned renown as a place of celebration, when events held there attracted hundreds of people from surrounding districts. In late January, 1870 a hilltop above Logantown became the setting for an all-night quadrille dance to celebrate the christening of the Aurora quartz battery. Speeches followed the usual champagne bottle baptism of the battery and the festivities proper began with 'an unlimited supply of sandwiches, bread and cheese, confectionary and fruit', together with 'a variety of liquor from champagne to 'ginger pop''.²⁵⁹

Later, at a clearing near the claim on a hilltop high above Logantown, sixty people danced to a pair of violins, the reporter from the *Dunstan Times* commenting 'the floor was not all that could be desired, in fact a week's blasting operations would have vastly improved it'.²⁶⁰ On a Saturday night two weeks later, Logantown's Provincial hotel was the scene of a

²⁵⁷ Cromwell Quartz Mining Company Ledger (1868-c.1888 & c.1909-1922), Hocken Library Archives File Reference: Cameron, William: Ledger, AG-099.

²⁵⁸ Advertisements, *Cromwell Argus*, December 15, 1869, p. 3.

²⁵⁹ 'The Aurora Company's Machinery – Christening of the Wheel', *Cromwell Argus*, 9 February 1870, p.2.

²⁶⁰ 'Bendigo Gully', *Dunstan Times*, 11 February 1870, p. 3.

stand-off between an officious Cromwell policeman and local residents celebrating a wedding.

With no permanent policeman at Bendigo, the locals were subject to surprise inspections by the Cromwell constabulary, especially since the *Dunstan Times* hinted at ‘rowdyism’ after the Aurora celebrations.²⁶¹ At 10pm, Police Sergeant John Cassels walked in on a dance which was not only in full swing, but likely to continue for hours. He ordered the musicians to halt their efforts and demanded that the dancing stop forthwith. The revellers, undeterred by the official injunction, moved out onto the street, where the party danced until dawn.²⁶²

The Policeman’s action generated a protest in the form of a poem in the columns of the *Cromwell Argus*’ Letters to the Editor (March 22, 1870):

Cease the music, stop the dancing
Lay the fiddle down
For King C-ss-lls is advancing
Straight to Logantown

So women now must cease to smile
And men forget to laugh
But sit in silence all the while
They their potations quaff

And who can cause this fear so great
Ah if you only knew
An officer of Otago’s state
A Sergeant of the blue

From hence all mirth and music fled
And now all revelry must cease
The town lay silent as the dead
When comes the Sergeant of Police

Such poetic protests indicate a healthy community spirit, as well as a cheeky disregard for the strictures of regulation. In addition to larger occasions like the one that earned Cassell’s ire, at Bendigo sports days, horse racing, dances, lectures, community meetings, church services, lodge assemblies and political convocations filled the calendar.

None of this is apparent to the modern visitor to the mute, still, managed reserve, so the heritage experience at Bendigo distorts into an encounter with silent, spectacular beauty, a

²⁶¹ Correspondence, *Dunstan Times*, 11 February 1870, p. 3.

²⁶² ‘Bendigo Gully’, *Dunstan Times*, 18 March 1870, p.3

picturesque subject for the photographer²⁶³ with its history silenced, its social, gender, economic and environmental convolutions mute. As such, it illustrates and underscores Barthes' transformative agency of myth whereby 'history is transformed into nature' and 'abolishes the complexity of human acts'.²⁶⁴

More than a Landscape of History

Much of the historiography of the era consigns the goldfields story to *history*, a male place where women mutely occupy a low place in the society as the *Whores* of one writer's pejorative title²⁶⁵ or as mere parents or silent wives. This representation fails to convey the reality of Bendigo. Developed later in the gold rush, Bendigo benefited from the demographic transformation from the women-less era of early years to an environment in which women were business owners, wives and employees, living with husbands and building homes in which to raise their families.²⁶⁶ Bendigo women were a noteworthy group. As well as the remarkable Jane Wilson (discussed in chapter 4), there were many other redoubtable figures. They ranged from Mrs Mercer who ran Mercer's Temperance Restaurant, 'The only establishment on Bendigo where Travellers can depend on getting MEALS AT ALL HOURS, in quietness and comfort', to Elizabeth Reid, Bendigo's midwife.²⁶⁷ Mrs Reid invested in the 'Try Again Quartz Mining Company' as shareholder in her own right, registered as a professional 'miner'²⁶⁸, set herself up in business as Cromwell's 'monthly nurse' to the women there, ran the Rocky Point Hotel for five years, overcoming the objections of the local police and finally retiring to the premises of the Solway Hotel at Bendigo with her family (see FIGURE 10.4). Another was the unnamed Welshtown woman who fought off the attentions of a drunken man who had broken into her home by up-ending the contents of a night-stand receptacle over him.²⁶⁹

²⁶³ Carpenter, L. 'Beyond Spectacular Beauty: The Heritage Experience at the Central Otago Mining Town of Bendigo', in proceedings of 'On The Surface: The Heritage of Mines and Mining' Innsbruck, Austria, April 14-16, 2011, Centre for Tourism and Cultural Change, Leeds Metropolitan University with the University of Innsbruck, p. 9.

²⁶⁴ Barthes, R., *Mythologies*, trs. J. Cape, (Paris: Editions du Seuil, 1957; English translation London: Random House, 1972) p. 156.

²⁶⁵ Eldred-Grigg, S., *Diggers Hatters and Whores* (Auckland: Random House, 2008), pp. 370-399

²⁶⁶ Forrest, J., 'Population and Settlement on the Otago Goldfields, 1861-1870', *New Zealand Geographer* 1961, 17(1), p. 63.

²⁶⁷ Kevin Hayes, pers. comm., 2011.

²⁶⁸ Advertisements, *Cromwell Argus*, October 2 1877, p. 2.

²⁶⁹ 'Bendigo', *Cromwell Argus*, 13 August 1878, p. 2.



FIGURE 10.4 Mrs Elizabeth Reid: miner, quartz company shareholder, midwife, hotel owner, nurse and matriarch of the Reid/Hayes family. Photograph courtesy of Kevin Hayes, Ripponvale, Cromwell. Used with permission

Bendigo women transcend the starched conservatism implied by their portrayals as demure, well-dressed societal ‘extras’ in photographs into real, robust characters who made their voices heard collectively. Contemporary newspaper writers allude to a strong Bendigo lobby, referring ironically to ‘the weaker sex’ agitating for a reduction in the price of bread, Bannockburn coal or local ferry charges.²⁷⁰ These early consumer campaigns almost always resulted in victories in the form of policy modification or price reductions. Bendigo women organised social events, dances, school fetes, quadrille assemblies and helped run local sports meetings, were on the school committee, agitated for the Bendigo Miners’ Relief Fund and were active, fundraising for the Cromwell Athenaeum and Hospital committees.

Across the river from Bendigo was the redoubtable Charlotte Perriam, who inherited a small sum of money and a hotel and general store business at Lowburn when her husband died in 1883. She built substantial premises, grew the business and became a local identity renowned for her business acumen in the running ‘a quiet establishment’ and was worth a substantial sum when she died.²⁷¹

Nevertheless, there is danger in viewing women’s story through an Arcadian filter; the women who gaze demurely out of contemporary photographs, dressed in the magnificence of Victorian fashion – which may have been hired from the photographer for the purpose – hide that they faced childbirth with amateur midwifery care, spent their days cooking over a choking coal fire or washing loads of laundry in a freezing water race, hands rendered cracked and bleeding by the hard work they are put to, praying that today it is their husband who returns, not his mates coming to tell you of an accident.

²⁷⁰ ‘Bendig’o, *Cromwell Argus*, 5 June 1877, p. 3; Bendigo, 17 September 1878, p. 2.

²⁷¹ See Chapter 9 Appendices for details of her finances.

The romanticism of the gold rush life lends itself to mythopoeia, but the reality was a society every bit as complex as the one we live in today, where women were far from silent background interest.

A Sterile Landscape

However bare the heritage landscape's aural environment is today, the olfactory sparseness is worse: the sterile 'Bendigo now' is completely at odds with the 'Bendigo then' from the influence of horses, humans and vegetation.

Horses were so ubiquitous in Central Otago that every hotel offered 'good stabling' as part of their attractions. Given that folk would think nothing of riding 15 miles to attend a soiree or concert on the weekend, provision for horses was important. As well as personal transport, horses drew carriages and powered whips and whims on quartz claims. As today's visitor to Ballarat's Sovereign Hill, England's Chiltern Open Air Museum or America's Colonial Williamsburg will attest, the odour of horse sweat, manure and feed hay was pervasive and inescapable at centres like Bendigo.

But as well as horses, smoke from coal fires, the smell of boiled mutton and cabbage, the sweet tang of the A1 Bakery's fresh-baked bread and even the stench of Williams' slaughter yard on the fringe of town added to the mix. Worse, because rush-era Logantown was always short of water, had no provision for nightsoil disposal and lacked even rudimentary plumbing, many of the smells there cannot have been pleasant.²⁷²

The ubiquitous tussock of Bendigo hides that the vegetation has changed, since the reserve is now assiduously cleared by its policy-impelled government departmental managers of the poplars, fruit trees and grapevines that used to be tell-tale signs that huts or tents once stood nearby. Any arguments suggesting that these plants are a heritage of the miners and their families of equal importance to cottage ruins are met and frustrated by official policy.

This landscape at Bendigo also conceals the memory of floral displays that miners carefully cultivated. This floral amnesia was lifted only by a recently-found letter from Charles Lawson in 1882. The Norwegian-born miner wrote to his young daughter, describing how the huts around him in Welshtown had flower gardens in front, vegetable gardens at the

²⁷² 'Bendigo Gully Reefs', *Cromwell Argus*, December 15 1869, p. 2.

rear and chickens and goats penned nearby.²⁷³ Gardens were large enough to be shown on MacKay's 1876 Bendigo quartz claim map,²⁷⁴ and suggest a Bendigo of vibrancy and colour, of permanency, society and settlement, re-shaping popular 'rush' imagery of ephemeral settlements hastily built, hedonistically lived in and precipitately abandoned, into a truer picture of families, stability and community.

A Landscape of Ruin

It hardly needs emphasising that Bendigo, Logantown and Welshtown were not landscapes of ruin in the heyday of mining there. But it is worth looking at what is represented by the landscape of cottage ruins which the visitors encounter today and to see not only what is there, but what is not.

- Stone

The 'ghost-town' of stacked schist cottage ruins across Bendigo is not what people lived in (see FIGURE 10.5). No-one lived in a roofless stone shell; they lived in a cottage, roofed with corrugated iron, lined with Baltic pine, glazed with imported glass, warmed by a coal fire and with a flagged or wooden floor²⁷⁵, sometimes with iron or wooden lean-to annexes built as wealth or family expanded. Pictures covered walls, books lined shelves and furniture filled rooms where children played and adults lived.

In the harsh Central Otago climate of winter chill and summer heat, the stone shielded inhabitants from the extremes of their environment: owners of former miners' houses in Cromwell, Queensbury, Cambrians and Bannockburn assure me that they are cool in summer's unrelenting heat and in winter require only a small fire to raise and maintain a comfortable temperature. The residents of Bendigo's stone cottages did not live the hard life which viewing a ruin would suggest.

²⁷³ Rowlands, H., Letter from her great-grandfather Charles Lawson, to children in Liverpool 1882.

²⁷⁴ Mackay, A.R., *Bendigo Quartz Mining Claims Survey* (Land Information NZ file S2086 Mining, 1876).

²⁷⁵ Editorial, *Dunstan Times*, 22 May 1868, p. 3.



FIGURE 10.5 The stone ruins at Welshtown, Bendigo. Photograph L. Carpenter

Building in schist is now not only fashionable, but has become iconic to the area, so that when operators of The Warehouse retail chain sought to open a new store in Alexandra, the Central Otago District Council planners insisted on the attenuation of the company's normally brilliant red colour scheme with a partial façade of stacked schist to fit local culture and landscape.²⁷⁶ Many new buildings in Central Otago towns have carefully-dressed schist as a point of architectural pride, with allusions to mining cottage and store heritage in this affectation. However the builders of homes at Bendigo did not necessarily build this way, despite the fact that this is what remains of the cottages. Examination reveals the extensive use of lime plaster render over the surface of stone walls, including an assiduous application of trowel and pointing to create the impression of brick or dressed blocks imprinted in the render's surface, hiding the schist. Many buildings also show remnants of limewash (sometimes coloured with local clay), which means it is entirely possible that a visitor to a Bendigo residence in 1870 would have found a tidy, white or pastel-coloured, smooth-walled, warm, comfortable home, with hardly a bare schist stone to be seen, confounding modern architectural fashion as well as expectations created by extant heritage.

The stone ruins are nothing more than the detritus of habitation, immovable remnants of houses remaining when the owners left. Stone had no value as a component, since the

²⁷⁶ Personal Comment, Central Otago District Council Planning Department and Resource Consent Manager, February 2013.

resident moving to a new location merely had to source new stone in the neighbourhood. The stripping out of expensive roof, flooring and lining timbers, glass windows and the corrugated iron roofing from stone cottages, together with every personal possession, leaves a large gap between what was there and what remains, creating a hint of sparseness and sterility about the quotidian that is belied by contemporary accounts.

One of Bendigo's stone cottages had a second life; Mi Film's New Zealand-made 2012 western *Good for Nothing* re-purposed a Welshtown cottage as a Native American healer's dwelling and as the setting for a shoot-out between the gunfighter and a young brave's bow and arrow (FIGURE 10.6).

The stone cottages are regarded as iconic enough to the region that four different contemporary local wine companies use them on their labels.²⁷⁷ Nevertheless, stone cottages were not the only form of housing used by miners.



FIGURE 10.6 Above and Below: Mi Film's use of Bendigo Cottage as an Indian Healer's Hut for the *Good for Nothing* western movie (2012). Images courtesy of Mike Wallis, Director, Mi Films Ltd, used with permission

²⁷⁷ Four wineries use images of old miners' stacked schist cottages on their labels: Domain Road (Bannockburn), Hawkshead (Gibbston), Dry Gully Wines (Earnscliffe), while Gibbston Valley Wines, who have a vineyard on Schoolhouse Terrace, Bendigo, use the iconic cottage from Bendigo's Welshtown on their Schoolhouse Pinot Noir. Several wineries utilise stone structures for tasting rooms: 3 Miners, Gibbston, Kawarau and Terra Sancta. Misha's Vineyard constructed a narrative of a mythological Chinese miner, Ah Foo. To support the legend, an extensive schist 'ruin' of a typical miner's hut was built in the middle of the vineyard from stone located on the property. This is used for tastings and to anchor the vineyard's metanarrative which is framed around marketing and wine-making explicitly (but not exclusively) aimed at Asian tastes (Misha's Vineyard, URL <http://www.mishasvineyard.com/reveal/the-legend-of-ah-foo/> updated 2012, accessed 5 June 2012).



- Hybrid

Corrugated iron added much to the stone cottages too. Present-day visitors to the heritage reserve of Stewartown see a tiny mudbrick ruin (see FIGURE 10.7 below), and are left to imagine the difficulty of raising a family in such a restricted space. A chance find among photographs of the small settlement of Stewartown above Bannockburn helps elucidate understanding of stone or mudbrick cottages. This photograph, taken around 1896, shows a solidly built mudbrick cottage with iron annexes on each side and behind it. Armed with the photograph, the ruin emerges instead as part of a substantial cottage which had a footprint at least four times the size of the mudbrick portion (see FIGURE 10.8).



FIGURE 10.7 The mud-brick ruin at Stewart Town, Bannockburn. Photograph L. Carpenter 2012.



FIGURE 10.8 The same cottage as shown in FIGURE 10.7, taken in c. 1896. (L - R) Adam & Amelia Aitken, Charles Angel, Margaret Aiken, Charles Angel (Jr). Photograph RW Murray Collection, used with permission.

Informed by this, examination of the standing structures at Bendigo reveals similar ‘ghost’ portions of the stone cottages, suggesting that far from pokey, uncomfortable and restrictive living spaces, these were expansive, functional and comfortable housing which would not be spurned today. As well as the incomplete picture offered by the stone ruins, hybrid structures and the spare, ill-defined footprint of iron houses, there are further gaps in what is perceived in the living environment of the Bendigo townships.

- Sod

Sod shanties were hybrid structures combining calico with stacked sod ‘brick’ walls and chimney to produce a quickly – and most importantly – cheaply-built, relatively warm structure (at least, compared with calico alone). They were far more pervasive the archaeological investigations to date would suggest. Sod houses were used extensively across Otago for over a decade after the first influx of gold miners to the province.

Such dwellings were not the primitive hovels that a cursory view of the building materials would suggest. Contemporary insurance loss records reveal that they often had cast iron ‘American’ cooking stoves for heating and cooking, and had rooms filled with all the furniture which might be expected of workers’ households of the time²⁷⁸; they were lit by

²⁷⁸ ‘The Goldfields’, *Otago Daily Times*, 18 August 1864, p. 9.

kerosene lamps²⁷⁹, had rug-covered wooden floors added to reduce the chill from rising damp and were bought and sold by miners migrating to or from the area.²⁸⁰



FIGURE 10.8 Lindis Camp 1934. Note sod-and-canvas structure in lower- and mid- centre. L. Carpenter Collection.

Electoral roll records as late as 1871 reveal that many sod structures were still in use, and as FIGURE 10.8 shows, these were constructed by miners working at the Lindis Pass Unemployment Scheme mining Camp in the 1930s.

- Iron

Simple iron cottages were also popular²⁸¹, since they could be pre-fabricated and easily transported – and relocated – as panels stacked on a dray to move to the next town. These were lined with wooden panels and were wallpapered, with a brick or sod chimney (see FIGURE 10.9). When Logantown was losing residents and businesses to the new quartz boom on the Carrick Range, reporters commented that it was only the crumbling remains of chimneys that showed there had been a house there.²⁸²

²⁷⁹ Editorial, *Otago Daily Times*, 17 February 1881, p. 2.

²⁸⁰ 'Local', *Dunedin Herald*, (quoted in *The Star*, 23 July 1881, p. 3) July 1881.

²⁸¹ 'Something about Cromwell', *Otago Daily Times*, 26 March 1875, p. 3.

²⁸² 'Bendigo', *Cromwell Argus*, October 3 1871, p. 3.



FIGURE 10.9 Mrs Holmes' wood-framed, iron-clad boarding house, Nevis Valley, c. 1885. Photograph courtesy Cromwell Museum.

The nature of housing used is found in a list of eligible voters for the greater Goldfields electorate in 1866 (Bendigo formed the northern boundary). This lists a mixture of housing: of 442 separate residences listed, 43 per cent are listed as dwellings or houses with no construction details; 18 per cent were 'sod and thatch', 'wood and calico', 'mud and wattle' or a 'thatched house' and only 2 per cent were 'stone cottages'. Setting aside the likelihood that many of the unspecified dwellings were probably stone, this means that even in established towns, housing of a rudimentary nature were lived in by much of the population. It is therefore more likely that at a rush town like Logantown, which contemporary reports have appearing in late 1869 and fading over the following two years, temporary constructions would have been in the majority. This makes the presentation of the remaining stone ruins as quintessential completely misleading.



FIGURE 10.10 Detail from a larger image c. early 1863, Manuherikia River, (adjacent to and downstream from Alexandra's 'Shaky Bridge'), showing families in houses of wood and canvas. Note extensive use of iron chimneys, possibly indicating the use of the popular 'American' pot-belly wood stoves. Photograph from L. Carpenter Collection.

Further, when a large grass fire threatened Logantown on December 28th 1869, the *Otago Witness*' report – while describing the miner-organised bucket brigade which saved the commercial premises – revealed that the miners who lived there were residing in tents, several of which were lost in the conflagration.²⁸³ A prevalence of tents would indicate a pervasive lack of faith in the long-term prospects of the town, or that there were a number of relatively indigent miners hoping to secure wage work at the new field, or even that miners were there from other centres, leaving wife and family behind as they sought new opportunities. As may be seen in FIGURE 10.10, it must be noted that what reports called 'tents' were more often than not relatively large, wooden-framed structures covered in canvas which had wooden floors and even several rooms. Some had a canvas roof; many were thatched, although problems with such an inflammable building material saw this replaced with iron as quickly as finances allowed.

²⁸³ 'Local and General', *Otago Witness*, 1 January 1870, p. 14.

- *Commercial Premises*

With just three exceptions: Goodall's 1873 re-built store²⁸⁴, Scott's 1872 bakery at Bendigo and O'Donnell's hotel and store in Bendigo Gully (erected in 1869), none of the commercial premises were stone. One of the earliest reports said: '[Logantown's] building materials are wood and calico, with a few sheets of galvanised iron judiciously distributed for shelter against the inclemency of the weather'.²⁸⁵ This was not untypical: at German Hill, when an 1865 wind-storm flattened the entire commercial heart of the township, the newspapers revealed that even the most substantial building, the premises of clothier Mr Isaacs, was made of a wooden frame over which canvas was stretched, with a corrugated iron roof.²⁸⁶ Canvas only gave way to iron as a cladding material when it was clear that the settlement and business looked a viable, long-term proposition.²⁸⁷

An iron hotel was not necessarily a shack, nor was it small, although some early structures were certainly little more than four hastily-erected walls with a token roof and a makeshift bar. The 1871 advertisement selling Logantown's Golden Link Hotel described it as having 'a bar, billiard room, sitting and dining rooms, and an extensive suite of excellent bedrooms'.²⁸⁸ Even more substantial was Beare's Reefer's Arms Hotel, which had a 'frontage of 35ft to the main street, containing splendid dining room, parlour, lounge, kitchen and ten comfortably furnished bedrooms ... built of corrugated iron and American timber ... including a stable and outhouses'.²⁸⁹ A Hotel of a similar size and construction may be seen in FIGURE 10.11, where the Solway Hotel was erected by Neil Peyton in 1870, bought and run by William Smith and Elizabeth Reid until 1877, operated under various owners until 1902, after which the Reid and Hayes family lived in it as a residence until the late 1930s.

²⁸⁴ A fire destroyed Goodall's first hotel in June 1872 (Commercial, *Tuapeka Times*, 27 June 1872, p. 5).

²⁸⁵ 'Logantown, A Goldfields Town', *Cromwell Guardian*, 8 February 1870, p. 2.

²⁸⁶ Editorial, (quoting the *Dunstan times*) *Otago Daily Times*, 21 January 1865, p. 5.

²⁸⁷ 'Letters from the Goldfields – Cromwell District', *Otago Daily Times*, 11 August, 1874, p. 4.

²⁸⁸ Advertisements, *Cromwell Argus*, 17 February 1871, p. 2.

²⁸⁹ Advertisements, *Cromwell Argus*, 26 May 1871, p. 1.



FIGURE 10.11 The Solway Hotel, c. 1934. Photograph courtesy of Kevin Hayes, Ripponvale, Cromwell. Used with permission.

Hotels were the hub of the communities, doing service as bars, restaurants, meeting rooms, coroners' courts, voting stations and dance halls.²⁹⁰ Advertisements offered, along with 'good stabling', the bonus feature of 'extensive vegetable gardens' as well as a purported 'largest billiard table', 'most commodious dining room' or the fact that it was doing 'the majority of business in the district' that advertisers declared.²⁹¹

All of this reveals a life-filled landscape at variance with the stark, empty ruin of the heritage landscape and impels the visitor to view the slight earthen berms and bottle middens which remain to indicate iron hotel sites as more than the faint detritus of a drinking place.

A 'Clean-scrubbed' Landscape

The visitor to Bendigo experiences an artificial construct at odds with historic reality. The heritage presented there and at other goldfields sites in Otago is a 'clean-scrubbed' offering,²⁹² which is cleansed of the taint of financial loss, injuries and deaths, industrial disputes, anti-Chinese invective and even environmental degradation.

²⁹⁰ Hamer, D., 'Towns in Nineteenth Century New Zealand', *New Zealand Journal of History*, 1979, 13 (1) p. 7

²⁹¹ Advertisements, *Otago Daily Times*, 22 August 1863, p. 6.

²⁹² van der Kemp, R.J., *Value and revitalizing industrial heritage*, Thesis, Technical University of Eindhoven, Faculty of Construction Engineering, 2009, p. 15.

Bendigo and Otago are not alone in this; the problem of a ‘scrubbed’ heritage pervades former industrial heritage centres in other countries, where the visitor experience is of white-washed buildings, neatly laid-out pathways among a silent, de-populated industrial landscape. In this arrested decay, no visitor keen to experience industrial archaeology must contend with choking clouds of smoke or coal dust; they don’t experience the clash of employers and workers locked in labour conflicts, and the times when court bailiffs served notices leading a resident or merchant into bankruptcy court as business or mining returns fell, are entirely forgotten. Urry theorised that the surge in nostalgia-impelled, cleansed heritage engagement ‘is rooted in a loss of trust in the future... the proliferation of risk, the view that contemporary social life is deeply disappointing and that there really was a golden age in the past’ and suggests that ‘the increased aesthetic sensibility to signs or the patina of oldness, to old places, crafts, houses, countryside and so on; the attractive representation of the past through a heritage-look suitable for visual consumption’, which then creates the problem that ‘the interpretation of that past through an artefactual history ... partly obscures the social relations and struggles which underlay that past [and] the belief that the past is to be understood through pastiche images and stereotypes which convert that past into simple narratives and spectacles’ and therefore ‘history is turned into heritage and made safe, sterile and shorn of danger, subversion and seduction.’²⁹³

A glaring lack in the encounter with Bendigo’s mining and cultural heritage, proving Urry’s thesis, exists in the lack of a subversive or ‘dirty’ history in the interpretation there, and a peculiar reluctance by Department staff to erect a panel dedicated to Bendigo’s Chinese²⁹⁴ means that the narrative presented is falsely mono-cultural and unconsciously perpetuates the prejudice of the mining era, despite the Chinese having a rich and fairly well-documented history there.²⁹⁵

David Goodman called for an ‘edgier narrative of the goldfields’ in his essay celebrating the sesquicentennial of the Australian gold rushes, calling for a move away from the standard transformation narrative of nation toward ‘writing hopes and fears into the

²⁹³ Urry, S., ‘How Societies Remember the Past’, Smith, L. (Ed.) *Cultural Heritage – Critical Concepts in Media and Cultural Studies*, *Critical Concepts in Heritage*, Vol. 2, (New York, Routledge, 2007), p. 194.

²⁹⁴ Email statement: ‘We think [a Chinese panel] is a good idea, but unfortunately at this stage it is not a priority for us.’ sent December, 2011 to the author from Tessa Bunney, Department of Conservation Central Otago Conservancy Programme Manager- Community Relations-Kaiwhakahaere Hapori-honoka.

²⁹⁵ E.g.: ‘Cromwell’, *Dunstan Times*, 10 November 1869, p. 3; ‘Mr Warden Pyke on the Cromwell Reefs’, *Tuapeka Times*, 13 November 1869, p. 3; Editorial, *Otago Daily Times*, 25 October, 1870, p. 2; ‘Bendigo’, *Cromwell Argus* 22 August 1871, p.3; ‘Bendigo’, 6 February 1872, p. 2; ‘Bendigo’, 18 June 1872, p.2; ‘Cromwell’, *Otago Witness*, 22 June 1878, p. 15; ‘Mining Intelligence’, *Cromwell Argus*, 4 May 1880, p. 3 and others.

history of the gold rush era [to] more accurately convey the uncertainty and anxiety which the mid-19th century gold rushes provoked in Australia... to recover a sense of the gold rushes as dangerous, edgy events with unpredictable outcomes.²⁹⁶ Warwick Frost, in his discussion of goldfields interpretation at several Australasian sites, highlighted the fact that despite a drive for authenticity and a greater focus on edgier narratives, studies reveal that ‘visitors to Gold Rush towns are more interested in “seeing” than “learning” and may only regard the historic sites as background the general tourist activities such as relaxing with family and friends, eating in cafés and looking at shops.’²⁹⁷

Frost also noted that ‘the literature of the New Zealand gold rushes is sparse and it shows no tendency towards the Australian “edgier” interpretation ... As such, New Zealand provides an instructive contrast to Victoria, for there is seemingly no pressure from historians to provide “edgier” interpretations for visitors.’²⁹⁸ He also criticises the Otago Goldfields Park for ‘following a conventional pattern’, noting that while ‘death and hardship do have some coverage’, and acknowledged ‘the Chinese focus at Arrowtown’ but highlights the fact that ‘environmental impacts, Maoris [sic], women and families and connections with Australia and California are noticeably absent.’ (ibid.).

These criticisms prompt a re-think: scratch the memorialised surface of the historic reserve landscape and a different Bendigo emerges. As has been discussed in chapter 8, the town was the site of bitter labour disputes and the destruction of miners’ houses. Bendigo was a place of family and social life, but it was also a place of workplace death. Alta Company miner John Gillies was killed by a rock fall²⁹⁹, while at the Cromwell Company’s main shaft William Campbell was killed in an accident with explosives, leaving five children and a wife ‘totally un-provided for’.³⁰⁰ Draymen died on the steep road when wagons failed³⁰¹, children drowned in storage dams³⁰² and miners perished rafting timber on the Clutha.³⁰³ Ellen Saul committed suicide by swallowing rat poison;³⁰⁴ after a New Year’s Eve dinner in late 1869, founding Cromwell Company shareholder Jack Garrett fell from a thoroughbred horse he had

²⁹⁶ Goodman, D., ‘Making an Edgier History of Gold’, in McCalman, I., Cook, A., Reeves, A., (Eds), *Gold: Forgotten Histories and Lost Objects of Australia*, (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2001), p. 23.

²⁹⁷ Frost, W., ‘Making an Edgier Interpretation of the Gold Rushes: Contrasting Perspectives from Australia and New Zealand’, *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, 2005, 11(3), p. 238.

²⁹⁸ Frost, W., 2005, p. 243.

²⁹⁹ Inquest, *Dunstan times*, 2 December 1870, p. 2.

³⁰⁰ Editorial, *Tuapeka Times*, 2 May 1891, p. 2.

³⁰¹ ‘Bendigo’, *Cromwell Argus*, 14 November 1882, p. 3.

³⁰² Inquest, *Tuapeka Times*, 21 November 1885, p.2; Death, *Cromwell Argus*, 5 October 1880, p. 2.

³⁰³ ‘Dunstan’, *Otago Witness*, 10 December 1864, p. 5.

³⁰⁴ Inquest, *Dunstan Times*, February 21 1879, p. 3.

bought with his dividends and died;³⁰⁵ ‘a miner named Anthony’ was reported missing from Bendigo Gully amidst rumours of murder³⁰⁶ and Norwegian miner Charles Lawson was killed while helping storekeeper Charles O’Donnell butcher a bullock.³⁰⁷ The gold rush was far from a cheerful Arcadia, yet that is the nature of the interpretation and commemoration offered throughout the province.

Even the quotidian was entirely apart from what is portrayed. Quartz miners spent eight or ten hours underground in an ill-ventilated, candle-lit space swinging a hammer or pick or working in a contract pair with hammer and tap, driving adits and sinking shafts or whinzes.³⁰⁸ The nature of the Bendigo miners’ work is incongruous with the romantic image of the gold miner celebrated in the tourist promotions and in heritage re-enactments. The grimy miner emerging after ten hours underground, puffing from the exertion of ascending a 450ft ladder for egress³⁰⁹ contrasts with the heroic Garibaldi shirted, wide-awake-hatted, care-free and mate-to-all gold miner of popular art and legend.

Similarly, the real work of the sluicer is not that shown in photographs, standing with other cheerful fellows near a monitor gun with its stream carelessly playing on alluvium. His real job required working under the freezing mists of sluice spray, forking rocks out of the race, swinging a pick to break up clay concretions or shovelling gravel to ensure the tailrace did its job of separating the gold from the dross. No photograph depicts the sluicer looking warily about himself as he worked, watching for a potentially lethal wash face gravel slump if the hoseman inadvertently overloaded the sluice face, knowing that dozens of miners like him were killed that way.

Disasters came in economic form as well as physical danger; the capitalists did not have a free ride at Bendigo. After all, while a few men (Brian Hebden, George Goodger, Thomas Logan and Borthwick Baird of the Cromwell Company) became wealthy, the shareholders and miners at 50 other claims either barely covered expenses or lost heavily and some went bankrupt. At Logantown, which was the main settlement of Bendigo, all but one general store owner and hotelier left the town within a year of opening, and many went bust, which would suggest that any ‘boom town’ phase was extremely short-lived.³¹⁰

³⁰⁵ ‘Death of J.W. Garrett’, *Cromwell Argus*, 5 January 1870, p. 2.

³⁰⁶ Editorial, *Dunstan Times*, 15 January 1868, p. 2.

³⁰⁷ Inquest, *Otago Witness*, 27 June 1885, p. 21.

³⁰⁸ McAra, J.B., *Gold Mining at Waihi*, (Waihi: Waihi Historical Society, 1978), p. 60; Latham, D., *The Golden Reefs, Quartz Mining at Reefton, Waiuta and the Lyell*, (Christchurch, Pegasus Press, 1984), p.352.

³⁰⁹ Rowlands, H., Letter from Charles Lawson to children in Liverpool, 1882.

³¹⁰ ‘Bendigo’, *Cromwell Argus*, 3 October 1871, p. 3.

The real life for miners and business people at Bendigo, even given the ameliorative effects of the social life detailed above, was a hardscrabble existence made worse by extremes of weather, a tough economic environment and work which is far from the romantic ideal informed by myth and packaged for heritage tourist consumption.

A Memorialised Landscape

Interpretation panels with Departmental logos confer official imprimatur and combines with the implicit authority of governmental management to compel memorialisation of the landscape for visitors. The title 'Historic Reserve' serves the empiricist case that significance is conferred, declaring that the place must be important otherwise it would not be sequestered, despite the fact that the Bendigo residents metaphorically (and actually) cast the place aside as a place to live immediately the gold ran out. This memorialising by information panel is problematic, since the didactic interpretation subsumes any more realistic, more radical aspects of Bendigo's history below a normative historical discourse framed around the romanticised image of the miner, celebrated on both sides of the Tasman in Lawson's oft-quoted 'They call no biped lord or "sir", /And touch their hats to no man!'³¹¹.

The goldmining era is sporadically and imprecisely memorialised through cultural constructs like the 'Goldfields Park',³¹² through the deliberate legend-narrative at the tourist park 'Goldfields Centre' in Kawarau Gorge,³¹³ and the incomplete interpretation at Bendigo and in historic reserves like it. The uncomfortable aspect of 'authentic' goldfields heritage is that most old gold rush centres, with their mix of scenery, heritage buildings (which in Queenstown and Arrowtown include original, reconstructed and faux goldfields structures and remnants), leisure activities and boutique shopping precincts tend to attract the group which Frost *et al* call 'The incidental heritage tourist',³¹⁴ not purists seeking a genuine encounter with a realistic history and heritage. Nevertheless, Schofield warns of the dangers

³¹¹ Lawson, H., 'The Shearers', *When I was King and Other Verses* (Sydney: Angus and Robertson, 1905), p. 33.

³¹² Frost, W. (2005) p. 243.

³¹³ Carpenter, L., 'Beyond Spectacular Beauty', pp. 2-7.

³¹⁴ Frost, W., Laing, J., Wheeler, F., Reeves, K., Weiler, B., *Bendigo Chinese Heritage Precinct Marketing and Interpretation Plan*, Monash University Tourism Research Unit, Monash University, July 2007, p. 30.

inherent in reducing the heritage landscape to its component historic ‘bits’; the complexity of historic landscapes is far more than mere artefact and elements of recovered narrative.³¹⁵

Most visitors make little effort to resist the facile embracing of received myth, involving the conflation of Otago and Victorian gold histories of desperate, gold-mad miners swarming across the province fighting, drinking and whoring away their sparse winnings in drunken oblivion in a vast, empty and lawless land, especially when it is commodified in advertising. An example is the Speight’s Beer material³¹⁶ which highlights the wide open spaces of Central Otago, presenting the hard, lonely man living a tough existence in a harsh and unforgiving environment. In contrast, there is the life discussed in the one extant letter which tells of the real life at Bendigo: a world of married men and women raising their children, constructing their own meeting hall in which to hold school by day, community meetings by night and church services on Sundays, planting flowers at the front of their huts and vegetable plots at the back, tending to goats for milk and chickens for eggs and meat.

In this way, the real heritage of the mining at Bendigo is ordinary people living a simple, comfortable existence and carefully constructing a community that, in some cases, led to miners settling at the location for up to forty years.³¹⁷ This was a place where drunkenness was frowned upon, where a branch of Good Templarism, the Bendigo Tribune Lodge thrived with over thirty members,³¹⁸ where a lecture by a visiting minister on the life of Shakespeare filled the meeting hall³¹⁹ and where regular soirees, balls, quadrille meetings,

³¹⁵ Schofield, A.J. ‘Now We Know: The Role of Research in Archaeological Conservation Practices in England,’ in *Cultural Resource Management in Contemporary Society*, edited by McMannamon, Francies and Hatton, Alf, 76–93. (Routledge, London, 2000), p. 86.

³¹⁶ Typical images used in the promotion of this product available at:

<http://www.schnappsbarraupehu.com/index.php/site/speights-funny-schnapps/>.

Today’s Speight’s beer drinkers can be seen to represent characteristics of three ideologies. The notion of leisure and the consumption of an explicitly manufactured good ties him to the industrialised society; the idea of consuming a product explicitly linked through promotion to the goldfields area ties him to the ideology of the mythic hard, pioneering, male dominated society of the 19th century Central Otago goldfields and the activity itself of consumption can be said to be a reminiscence of the innocent yet wholesome earlier preindustrial time. These notions are in direct conflict with Speight’s beer being the beer of choice of several generations of Otago University students: with couch burning, street riots, toga parties and the present pervasive culture with which attending Otago is imbued.

³¹⁷ This is true of the Cameron family who had two generations mine at Bendigo, the O’Donnells who operated their store from 1865 to 1907, the Peace and Ellis families at the Rise and Shine Valley and individual miners like Donald Dryborough, August Sorenson, Frederick Abelsted, John Pascoe of whom little is known apart from the fact that they mined at Bendigo for at least 30 years and their bearded faces stare out of each of the three extant photographs of Bendigo miners.

³¹⁸ Bendigo, *Cromwell Argus*, August 18, 1875, p. 3.

³¹⁹ The lecture, by Rev Mr. Drake of Cromwell, was given on Saturday, 29 July 1876 at the Bendigo Meeting House (‘Bendigo’, *Cromwell Argus*, 1 August 1876, p. 2). With a full house, the sale of tickets was ‘sufficient to clear any remaining debts from the building of the Meeting House.’

sports days and community picnics dotted the calendar to ensure a lively social life for residents.

Populating the Landscapes of Popular Imagination

For four decades in the second half of the nineteenth century, gold mining methods, results and prospects, the names of mines, miners and mining companies were the subject of animated discussion at domestic dinner tables, public bars and at any meeting of professional men throughout the country. Times have changed.

In modern, tourist-focused, clean, green ‘100% Pure New Zealand,’³²⁰ there has been ‘little public awareness or appreciation of Otago goldfields history’³²¹ and little of the period has been discussed beyond its place as an adjunct to the picturesque in Otago until recently. But the memories and memorialisation of goldfields heritage are undergoing regeneration. They are extracted and embraced by re-enacting the rush in an annual ‘Cavalcade’, in the employment of its imagery, themes and names on wine labels, the on-going programme of sequestering of heritage areas into government reserves and re-purposing the built heritage into new uses, from cafes to residences and retail. The celebration of the sesquicentennial of the first gold finds in 2012 prompted rediscovery of the region’s golden past, but much of the ‘remembering’ is a tourism-driven, gold-themed publicity drive, as a point of difference to other, better known centres like Queenstown.

Nevertheless, as Keir Reeves and Chris McConville found in their examination of goldfields heritage landscapes in ‘Cultural Landscape and Goldfield Heritage: Towards a Land Management Framework for the Historic South-West Pacific Gold Mining Landscapes,’³²² it is stretching a point to assert a significance that is not there in landscapes like Bendigo. It has intrinsic value as an untouched, abandoned, unaltered ‘ghost-town’ landscape managed in a state of perpetual ‘arrested decay’ by its government owners, but the fact remains that the architecture is a utilitarian vernacular at best, with simple cottages scattered across a landscape which has been silent for over a century. It is only the close

³²⁰ Von Michelle Kinney, 100% Pure New Zealand Website, ‘Central Otago’s Rich and Unique Heritage – Gold’, <http://www.newzealand.com/de/article/central-otagos-rich-and-unique-heritage--gold/> updated August, 2012; accessed 8 April, 2013.

³²¹ Evans, C.A., *Heritage Tourism and Conservation in the Otago Goldfields Park*, Unpublished Master’s of Arts Thesis in Tourism, University of Otago, 1993, p.20

³²² Keir Reeves & Chris McConville, *Cultural Landscape and Goldfield Heritage: Towards a Land Management Framework for the Historic South-West Pacific Gold Mining Landscapes*, *Landscape Research*, 2011, 36:2, 191-207.

reading of its archaeology and the luxury of a detailed examination of the financial, engineering and organisational structures which underpin the heritage remains which completing this thesis allowed which would suggest that the Bendigo Historic Reserve has any level of importance. As Reeves and McConville suggest,

some of the difficulties that cultural landscape inscription can generate for assessment and management of heritage sites. These include conflation of historical and aesthetic considerations, over-reliance on boundary definition and a consequent inexactness in allotting heritage significance to broad complexes of built and natural elements. Goldfields in the New World seem to encapsulate both the tremendous vitality of cultural landscape and some of its perils. For over one hundred years many mining sites have lost their brutal destructiveness and taken on a misleading patina of organic evolution.³²³

It is therefore worthy of consideration whether Bendigo is worthy of further examination, perhaps as part of a greater landscape story of the goldfields, or whether, having elucidated its story here, it should be suggested as an exemplar site to understand the greater goldfields narrative. That judgement is probably to be made by someone who has not lived intimately with the town's stories as this writer.

For many people, the standing ruins of Central Otago goldfields ghost towns, located in the magnificent 'big sky' vistas that are so loved by poets, photographers and fans of the artist Grahame Sydney fall into Gilpin's picturesque. It suits people to view the detritus of miner's lives as somehow harsh, hopelessly romantic and somehow semi-tragic. The reality was quite different. One of Lowenthal's criticisms of heritage is the taming of the past that goes on in the preservation of heritage,³²⁴ but I would add that there is an equally dangerous proposition inherent in the creation and retention of imagery and ideas of harshness and a frontier society where in fact all the foundations and social dynamics of modern society were present.

Conclusion

Gold rushes are remarkable events. Men and women crossed oceans, plains and rivers in their quest for golden riches, establishing new settlements, changing the landscape and society in their new home. Some stayed, some moved on and some returned to their 'home' country,

³²³ Keir Reeves & Chris McConville, *Cultural Landscape and Goldfield Heritage: Towards a Land Management Framework for the Historic South-West Pacific Gold Mining Landscapes*, Landscape Research, 2011, 36:2, p.204.

³²⁴ David Lowenthal, *The Past Is a Foreign Country*, (Cambridge, Cambridge UP, 1985), pp. 67-68.

and through it all and in every case, myths emerged, developed and are perpetuated from within each rush narrative.

But for each rush centre, the real story is only partly told. Contemporary images both reveal and conceal the truth; in hiding the processes behind each technology, urban centre and societal group, the complexity of the goldfields society is glossed over into the fog of myth. It is one thing to view an image of miners at a sluice claim; it is another to see the interaction with the alluvial strata, goldfields administration, merchant financing, miner society and the local topography that led to the syndicate's proposal, or the months and years of work to see the race brought into use. Photographs of quartz miners hide the work of the prospector, the intricacies and costs of shareholding, the engineering feats – and cost – implicit in bringing water power and stamper battery technology to bear on the complexity of extracting gold from the geological matrix. Through this thesis, I have examined a de-mythologised account of these engineering processes, as well as adding a scrutiny of the social dynamics and communal relationships implicit in the development of claims, goldfields structures, urban centres and economic networks to reveal the social and technological changes wrought on the Otago landscape and New Zealand's history and in particular, revealing the complexity of these relationships.

By looking at the nature of myth and identity, elucidating the influence of Māori on the rush and exploding the prevalent idea of class trumping truth, then examining aspects of community development through syndicated claim formation and developing the true story of the goldfields' urban, company and commercial worlds, I have atomised these pervasive ideas to reveal a goldfields society which was not unlike our modern one.

The Central Otago gold rush was a remarkable period in New Zealand's colonial history, one which saw a barren landscape become populated and changed and then depopulated and changed again. The heritage landscape is shown to require a more nuanced, considered appreciation to gain an appropriate understanding of the activities which it memorialises.

The luck is not what it used to be and the ounces gather slow,
 But these are the men who made the land in the golden long ago!
 It wasn't an easy work to do, though you smile when I say it now;
 It's easy for you to ride the track that is cut to the mountain's brow;

It's easy to stand on the iron bridge and to look at the stream far down –

It was harder to tackle it hand in hand, but easy enough to drown;

For these are the men who led the way to the quiet valleys we know,

The hero band of the morning land, the diggers of long ago!

You talk of the men who spoke and wrote and we give them their praises due,

And the men of the fleece and the axe and the plough had a mighty work to do;

But the silent army of claim and mine were the men who led the way –

I tell you the might of the digger's arm is the strength of the land to-day.

David McKee Wright ³²⁵

³²⁵ David McKee Wright, Puketoi, October 1896, Station Ballads No. XIX, 'The Diggers', *Otago Witness*, 5 November 1896, p. 41.

Appendices

Appendix 1 – (from Chapter Two)

Māori Miners in Australia

180 years before various New Zealand politicians began to be concerned about the migration of New Zealanders to Australia, Māori moved there to take advantages of the economic conditions and employment opportunities offered there and to facilitate trade between the two countries.

According to the *Marae Melbourne* website, Māori first settled to the south of the Yarra River in 1835, building a wharehau and laying out a marae which they called ‘Ārepa’. They worked on kauri imported from the ports of Hokianga and Taranaki and planted New Zealand flax to begin a local industry using this as a resource. They operated a traditional kaupapa, including the leadership of elders, and even suggest that Māori were the origin of name of Australia’s iconic animal:

They got on well with the Aboriginal people and continued to do so long after white settlement. The 'kangaroo' is said to be a Maori word which has been adopted by the Aborigines. The Maori, upon seeing these animals jumping in great numbers, exclaimed “look, they look like the waves of the ocean” (ka ngaru o te moana).¹

Māori men were employed on the Sydney docks,² crewed whaling vessels like the *Australian*³, the French survey schooner *Hydrographe*⁴, the Sydney lifeboat (where Captain Beachey was the only non-Māori on muster⁵) and in the annual Newcastle regattas, were so competitive in whaleboat races that their entries were subject to handicap.⁶ Some names are known: the trading vessel *Phoenix* had John August on board⁷ and the *Signet* had five Māori crew including ‘Te Wietini, Engatite and Honari’ [sic], although Master Evans discovered that despite their exotic appearance – ‘two of them are deliberately tattooed by ingenious New Zealand artists’ – they would not accept maltreatment without protest, and sought protection in Cardiff.⁸

As well as working in shipping crews, Māori were mining in Australia. Dr Fred Cahir of the University of Ballarat notes frequent mention of Māori miners in early accounts of both

¹ Marae Melbourne Website, report ‘*Pasifika Victoria “The Way Forward”*’, South Pacific Foundation of Victoria Inc., November 2007, URL: <http://www.maraemelbourne.net/thereport.php> accessed February 3 2013.

² Coroner’s Inquest, *Empire*, 20 December 1855, p. 2.

³ Magistrates Court, *Sydney morning Herald*, 25 January, 1854, p. 4.

⁴ ‘A Black Man’s Life’, *Empire*, 11 June 1855, p. 4.

⁵ ‘Newcastle’, *Sydney Morning Herald*, 19 November, 1855, p. 3.

⁶ ‘Newcastle Regatta’, *Maitland Mercury*, 26 May 1857, p. 5.

⁷ ‘General List’, *Empire* (Sydney), 3 March 1855, p. 6.

⁸ ‘General Intelligence’, *The Courier* (Hobart) 14 May 1856, p. 2.

Ballarat and Bendigo and believes most came to the goldfields by jumping ship from whaling vessels as they sought more remunerative work, although the Marae Melbourne researchers say that many also shifted from their marae in Melbourne to the new gold regions.⁹ Cahir's research has shown that there were up to 150 Maori at Ballarat and a total of 300 on the Victorian fields.¹⁰

Their presence was certainly no secret; at Bendigo, there was a 'well-known payable locality called the Maori Hill'¹¹ which was 'a long worked area of profitable ground, too deep to operate puddling machines'¹² and in Napoleon Gully, one of the more prominent and consistently-paying claims was known as the 'Maorie's puddling machine' syndicate.¹³ Several areas of the Whipstick field on the outskirts of Bendigo were famed for Māori mining success. Reportedly 'the New Zealanders were among the very first to open up these gullies, and some of them will always be found both in Red and Blue Jacket, especially the latter, where more than one Maori has raised a pile',¹⁴ and when there was a resurgence at Red Jacket in mid-1858, the local correspondent reported that 'a 2 pounds nugget and some course gold ... [was] got there in shallow sinking, by a party of Maories during the week'.¹⁵ The neighbouring area of Elysian Flat at the Whipstick, had 'a party of Maories, it is well known, got from 17 to 20 ounces from three loads of wash dirt ... Numbers are piling best stuff, which is indicative of some belief on their part of it being remunerative',¹⁶ and when that area quietened, these same Māori miners were noted for their persistence in trying new ground, such as 'the upper portion of old Scotchman's Gully, of monster nugget fame',¹⁷ and Truck Gully.¹⁸

In 1863 a headline appeared in the *Bendigo Advertiser* which both congratulated a Māori miner and emphasised his exotic otherness:

A RED JACKET NUGGET.

That den of nuggets, Red Jacket, yesterday yielded to the industry of John Williams, a New Zealander, one of those lumps of gold for which that Kelly is so famous. The nugget ... weighs 176 ozs, or 14 lbs 8 oz, and represents a money value of £600 ... the lucky tattooed individual has it all to himself, as he belongs to the genus "hatter," to whom fortune is usually generous, especially with regard to nuggets. This will not be the last that will astonish the natives from Red Jacket, as there is abundance of ground still to open up. The nugget may be viewed at the Oriental Bank, Eaglehawk.¹⁹

⁹ Marae Melbourne Website, accessed February 3, 2013.

¹⁰ Pers.Comm. via email, 16 February, 2012.

¹¹ Advertisement, A First Rate Chance, *Bendigo Advertiser*, 27 July 1857, p. 3.

¹² 'Maori Gully', *Bendigo Advertiser*, 5 September 1857, Supplement, p. 1.

¹³ 'Puddling Machines for Sale', *Bendigo Advertiser*, 14 August 1856, p. 3.

¹⁴ 'Bendigo Mining Intelligence', *Bendigo Advertiser*, 18 October 1858, p. 2.

¹⁵ 'Whipstick', *Bendigo Advertiser*, 1 June 1858, p. 2.

¹⁶ 'Elysian Flat, Whipstick', *Argus*, 16 December 1857, p. 4.

¹⁷ 'Whipstick', *Bendigo Advertiser*, 9 February 1858, p. 2.

¹⁸ 'The 71-pound nugget', *Bendigo Advertiser*, 13 April 1858, p. 3.

¹⁹ 'A Red Jacket Nugget', *Bendigo Advertiser*, 11 November 1863, p. 2.

Some comment was made about Māori in general which would indicate firstly, that they were sufficiently distinctive among the racial polyglot of the goldfields to stand out and secondly that there were enough of them for newspapermen to make generalisations about their behaviour and manner. In an article emphasising the extreme (to the writer) otherness of Chinese miners who had appeared in their midst ('numerous beings, with umbrella-shaped coverings on their heads, who seem to have just stepped out of the chinaware whose grotesque figures were wont to excite our youthful wonder'), and who were judged as 'to their credit be it said, that on the goldfields they are characterised by general peaceableness and industry, and are seldom seen under the influence of intoxicating liquors', the writer turned to the to offer examples at the other end of the moral spectrum for comparison and said '...in the latter respect, they furnish a contrast to the Maories and American blacks among us.'²⁰

A rebuttal of these sentiments is offered by the *Melbourne Age* who, responding to news of the Otago gold finds commented on what they termed 'the probable influence of gold discoveries on the Maori':

If he is a bold and skilful warrior he is also a steady and intelligent toiler. He tills and herds, he builds mills and navigates ships. Even so far back as the close of the last century, most of the whaling ships at this end of the world were manned by New Zealanders.... Numbers of the same race have worked at our diggings with a uniform repute among the European mates for steady industry and good conduct. In the agricultural way they not only supply their own wants, but bring in their produce largely to the food markets of the colonists.²¹

This suggests a level of tolerance or acceptance in the Australian field which has not been previously explored, and suggests that Māori were far from a curiosity working at basic labouring levels of mining; they developed larger, technical claims and worked these profitably.

Other reports show that their sense of identity, particularly in the use of te reo, was not subsumed by their gold work. The renowned Scottish goldfields magistrate Lachlan McLachlan, better-known as 'Bendigo Mac' lived in New Zealand from 1841 – 1852²² and through dealings with locals over land transactions, learned to speak the language fluently. It caused widespread amusement when the popular administrator faced a court schedule full of Māori miners in the aftermath of an episode of 'rowdyism' from drunken celebrations, and 'cheerfully conversed with them charged in their own language'.²³

It is not clear, once the Aorere field in late 1856 or the Otago fields in the early 1860s were declared, whether any Māori miners came back from Australia to work in the new gold

²⁰ 'John Chinaman at the Diggings', *The Argus*, Melbourne 23 May 1855, p. 6.

²¹ *The Melbourne Age*, quoted in: 'Fallacies with Reference to the Natives', *Otago Witness*, 1 March 1862, p. 8.

²² Jean Gittins, 'McLachlan, Lachlan (1810–1885)', Australian Dictionary of Biography, National Centre of Biography, Australian National University, <http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/mclachlan-lachlan-41118/text6587>, accessed 3 February 2013.

²³ Eaglehawk Police Court, *Bendigo Advertiser*, 9 February 1858, p. 3; Eaglehawk Police Court, *Bendigo Advertiser*, 15 March 1859, p. 3.

regions of their home land. It is possible that they simply remained in their new country, and having adopted European names like Moses Wallace of Ballarat²⁴, Christopher Balderson and Thomas Williams of Eaglehawk²⁵, and Wally Rabbin of Bendigo²⁶, even their descendants living there today may be unaware that their mining ancestors once had a full-face moko tattoo and conversed in te reo with ‘Bendigo Mac’ over the rights or wrongs of a property dispute at the goldfields.²⁷

²⁴ ‘Ballarat’, *The Argus*, 14th February 1855, p. 6.

²⁵ Eaglehawk Police Court, *Bendigo Advertiser*, 9 February 1858, p. 3.

²⁶ District Police Court, *Bendigo Advertiser*, 9 November 1859, p. 2.

²⁷ Eaglehawk Police Court, *Bendigo Advertiser*, 9 February 1858, p.3; Eaglehawk Police Court, 15 March 1859, p. 3.

Appendix 2 – (from Chapter Three)

Editorial, *Otago News*, 19 January 1850, p. 2.

The “gold mania” has at length reached our quiet settlement, and disturbed the even tenor of the thoughts of our little community. A vessel is advertised to sail from the port early in March, if 30 passengers can be found willing and able to venture, and we are told that upwards of two thirds of that number have already paid the necessary deposit. We have, from time to time, selected articles as they have come in our way, which present, as far as we can judge, a fair picture of both sides of the question, and we therefore consider any arguments that we might advance, pro or con, would have little effect. Nevertheless, we would earnestly beg such of our readers who have not yet decided upon so important step, but whose thoughts are troubled with tempting visions of riches in conjunction with the “the diggins” of California, to consider seriously and calmly whether it is wise to leave this their adopted country, which calls but for their labour and exertions to make it a land of fullness and gladness – to run the hazards of fever, ague, and even life itself, for what may prove a source of discomfort and sadness, even if obtained as largely and easily as their hearts desire. The sudden acquisition of wealth, too, is frequently more trying to the principles of good men than long, continued adversity. Consider, also, the certainty of success, and the amount of comfort you will have it in your power to possess in course of time by common attention and perseverance in your present respective pursuits. Contrast this with the numerous disappointments which must await you at California, – the price of living, the difficulty of obtaining shelter and the common necessities of life, individuals you will mix with, – and then say whether you are acting wisely and undergoing the troubles and anxieties attendant upon a resettlement in a new country California now presents to our merchants and agriculturalists a singularly promising field – we will not say of speculation – but of safe and remunerative commercial enterprise, – and in the same spirit in which we discourage personal emigration, we would, to the utmost of our ability, insight them to lose no time, and neglect not prudent means of taking advantage of it to the utmost.

Appendix 3 – (from Chapter Three)

Gold at Otago, *Otago Witness*, 1 November 1851, p. 2

GOLD AT OTAGO

We have received the following communications on the subject of the discovery of Gold in this settlement. We have no authentic information as to the quantity of the precious metal which is likely to be found though we have no doubt, from the extent of country abounding in quartz, that it will be

considerable. We would, however, have our readers not to be too sanguine on the results, and leave their ordinary occupations. Flour is more necessary than gold, and may be more profitable. –Ed.

Commissioner of Crown Lands Office,

Dunedin, 31st October, 1851.

Sir, I enclose copy of a Letter from Goodwood, Pleasant River, about 40 miles north of Dunedin, which reached me last evening. I also enclose the Report of Mr. Daniel Macandrew upon the specimens of auriferous quartz referred to, and which I have left in his hands as Convener of Committee for Mineralogy and Agricultural Chemistry of the "Otago Agricultural Association."

I am, Sir, Your obedient Servant,

(Signed) W. Cargill.

Goodwood, 27th October, 1851.

Capt. Wm. Cargill, Dunedin.

Sir, Under the impression that the prompt communication of the discovery of auriferous quartz in this neighbourhood will be of importance to the Otago Settlement, we beg to enclose you specimens which we have found in various localities, in order that you may give all the publicity which you may think proper to the fact that gold exists in the Southern Island. Most of the specimens sent you were picked up in the property of Charles Suisted, Esq., of Goodwood the specimen of gold dust is from his estate. We hope to have the pleasure of seeing you before we return to Wellington. In the meantime we remain,

Sir, Your obedient Servants,

C. J. Pharazyn.

C. J. Nairn. Dunedin,

31st October, 1851.

Captain Cargill.

Dear Sir,

The several pieces of Quartz and Dust you handed me yesterday, from Goodwood, indicate Gold in that quarter. The spangles of two of the quartz specimens, and most of the dust, took the tests Nitro Muriatic Acid and Quicksilver.

I remain,

Dear Sir, Your obedient Servant,

(Signed) Daniel Macandrew.

Appendix 4 – (from Chapter Three)

Provincial Council, *Otago Witness*, 6 December 1856, p. 3, Ligar's letter was re-printed in other leading colonial newspapers, including the *Daily Southern Cross* (Auckland), 23 January 1857, p. 3; *Nelson Examiner and New Zealand Chronicle*, 11 March 1857, p. 2; *Taranaki Herald*, 28 March 1857, p. 3; *New Zealander*, 16 May 1857, p. 4.

SURVEYOR-GENERAL of New Zealand to HIS HONOR THE
SUPERINTENDENT of the Province of Otago.

To his Honor the Superintendent of Otago,

"Sir, -As I deem it the duty of every one in the community to increase the stock of information relative to the resources of this our adopted country, I hasten to inform your Honor that in my recent visit to the South part of the Province of Otago, I found gold very generally distributed in the gravel and sand of the Mataura River at Tuturau, and that from the geological character of the District I am of opinion that a remunerative Goldfield exists in the neighbourhood.

I have the honour to be, &c.,

(Signed) CHAS W. LIGAR.

Otago, 1st December, 1856

Appendix 5 – (from Chapter Three)

Government Survey of the Southern Country of the Province of Otago, New Zealand, *Otago Witness*, 11 July 1857, p. 4. (Reprinted: The Southern Districts, *Lyttelton Times*, 9 May 1857, p. 5; Otago, *Wellington Independent*, 20 May 1857, p. 6; The Southern Districts of the Province of Otago, *Nelson Examiner and New Zealand Chronicle*, 3 June 1857, p. 4.)

TO THE COMMISSIONERS OF THE WASTE LAND BOARD on the
Reconnaissance Survey of the Southern Districts of Otago, executed during
the months of January, February, and March, 1857, by J. T. Thomson,
CHIEF SURVEYOR.

The existence of Gold is undoubted a fact first brought to light by Mr. Ligar, Surveyor-General of New Zealand. The principal specimens yet found have been obtained in the gravel of the Mataura River, near Tuturau but I am credibly informed that indications are everywhere met with in the Waiopai and Mataura plains. I have nowhere yet known of any individual success at the occupation of gold washing or digging as a business, nor have I seen above the small fraction of an ounce in the hands of any one. Knowing that gold had been found I paid some attention to the subject at various localities. The spots where I actually tried the sands and rocks for gold were on the Upper Mataura, to the north of the Dome Mountain; on the Aparima near Taringtura Hill; in the Orawia near Glassburn and on the Waiau near the Limestone Gorge. The trials (and they must be admitted to be very imperfect) were made by washing the sands in our pannikins, these being the best utensils for the purpose in our possession, and by digging in the chinks of the locks and scooping out the sand and mud with our knives. In all our attempts we were unsuccessful in finding the metal but I must not omit to mention of one of my assistants having reported the obtaining one speck in the Waiau sands. Amongst the sands of the Waiau, the residue

consisted of black grains, not unlike oxide of tin, and a few small crystals not unlike the garnet. The above black grains are also found in the Mataura.

Having never visited a gold field, I can personally offer little to the Board which may claim their dependence, but if we proceed upon the information given by geologists, I would point to the districts of the Hokanui Hills, to the Slate Ranges, and to the valleys of the Mataura and Waiau as being probably auriferous. In these districts quartz is disseminated amongst the cherty, schistose, and slaty rocks that abound and the quartz, when found on the surface, is much intermixed with peroxide of iron. These are frequently the indications of gold fields, and have been mentioned to me as often obtaining in the gold fields of Australia.

Appendix 6 – (from Chapter Three)

Gold, *Otago Witness*, 12 December 1857, p. 4.

UNTO HIS HONOR THE SUPERINTENDENT AND THE PROVINCIAL COUNCIL OF THE PROVINCE OF OTAGO.

The Petition of the undersigned inhabitants of the Province, humbly sheweth: That many of the labouring population have already left this Province for the Nelson Goldfields, and many men are preparing to do so, to the serious loss and manifest injury of the Province.

That the advantage anticipated from the Government Assisted Immigration will be neutralised, and become a source of loss, unless some attraction, such as a local remunerative Gold-field, be discovered, by which means we may hope to retain our population.

That the existence of Gold in this Province is a well-ascertained fact; but from various causes private enterprise has not hitherto been systematically directed towards proving whether Gold exists in payable quantities.

That your petitioners consider it to be the duty of the Provincial Government to take immediate steps towards ascertaining the Gold capabilities of this Province.

May it therefore please your Honor and the Provincial Council, immediately to offer a handsome reward, under proper conditions, for the proof of the existence of a remunerative Gold-field within this Province.

And your petitioners will ever pray.

Appendix 7 – (from Chapter Three)

Gold, *Otago Witness*, 12 December 1857, p. 4.

Invercargill Hundred 28th November, 1857.

To J. T. Thomson, Esq., _
Chief Surveyor.

Sir, I have the honour to inform you that gold has been found by myself and party within this Hundred. The creek in which we have found it runs between the Waikivi and the Makerewa Bush, and enters the Makerewa at the north end of the large swamp. We have also found it in smaller particles in the Waikivi. The appearance which first drew my attention to it was the very large amount of mica mixed with the quartz gravel, ironsand, and blue clay, forming the bed of the creek, and causing a most remarkable glittering appearance when stirred in the water.

Of course, without a fair trial, it would be impossible for me to say whether it were likely to be found in quantities, sufficient to pay but I considered it my duty at once to acquaint you with these facts, as the importance of the discovery of gold within twelve miles of Invercargill seemed to me to require it. I need not draw your attention to the importance of the discovery, as pointing to the Hokanuis as the source from whence the Mataura gold in all probability has come.

I forward to you enclosed the specimen found.

I have the honour to be, Sir,
Your most obedient servant,
(Signed) Robert Gillies,
Sub-Assistant Surveyor.

Appendix 8 – (from Chapter Three)

Gold. *Otago Witness*, 3 April 1858, p. 4.

Gold.

The apathy of our public upon the subject of gold is very surprising. ... Gold has undoubtedly been discovered in several places of Otago, viz., in the Mataura, in the Waiopai, in the Clutha at the Dunstan ranges, and now in the Tuapeka and yet not one single person has made the least attempt to test the value of any of these fields, extending over many hundreds of miles. The offer of the reward of £500 has not had the slightest effect in stimulating exertion. Will the following letter from Mr. Garvie induce any one to lose a week with the hope of proving the workability of the field.

Te Houka, Clutha River,
23rd March 1858.
To J. T. Thomson, Esq.,
Chief Surveyor.

Sir I have the honour to inform you, that while engaged in the survey of Tuapeka country, one of the men belonging to my party discovered Gold to be pretty plentifully distributed even among the surface gravel near the mouth of that stream. Having no sinking tools, we did not examine any further, but there are indications of its possibly turning out a workable gold

field; and as I heard at Mr Maitland's station that it is known by other parties, I thought it best to take the first opportunity of sending you notice. The place is so accessible that a dray could take a ton at least from the Waihola Lake, plenty of scrub for fire-wood, and a considerable extent of excellent agricultural land in the neighbourhood.

I have the honour to be, Sir,

our obedient Servant,

(Signed) Alex. Garvie,

Assistant-Surveyor.

It is rather singular that two of the discoveries have been made by the Surveyors who are engaged in other work, and cannot spend much time on the search, and yet their accounts are so favourable that, were any person with more leisure to attend to the subject, the success would, in all probability, be much greater.

Appendix 9 – (from Chapter Seven) The Frenchman’s Claim, Manuherikia Junction (Alexandra)

In the Dunstan goldfield, the first syndicates of amalgamated claims appeared in March 1863, when the Nil Desperandum Mining Company combined nine claims to turn the Manuherikia River at a bend near the gorge. Their neighbouring amalgamated claim were the Manuherikia Mining Company, who constructed a large water race, partly by drilling through solid rock to get water onto their claim area, while the Grand Junction teams (three separate, but loosely-connected syndicates) developed their ground on the Dunstan flats.²⁸ More developed: the Frenchman’s point claim, Manuherikia is an apt study of this evolutionary process:

The Frenchman’s claim was begun by amalgamating several ‘paddock’ claims (areas on the low terraces above the river bank) and some river edge claims to produce an extensive – and exclusive – area for the syndicate to work. The shareholders of the initial company included prominent Frenchmen, Jean Desiré Feraud, Jacques and Theodore Bladier as well as several businessmen of the growing gold town of Dunstan (later Clyde).

They sought and obtained the rights to water for head race, dug a water race to the top of the high bank above the area, built and installed a ten foot overshot waterwheel and commissioned the construction of a large Californian pump and extended ‘Long Tom’ sluice boxes beside them.

With all this apparatus and infrastructure, they hired labourers and began the process of putting all of the gravel on their claim through their sluice boxes and into the Clutha. This claim, which reportedly stripped from 80 to 100 feet of overburden, quickly achieved a remarkable return of 20 to 24 ounces of gold per day.²⁹ It was by no means the only such claim in the area, but it was certainly one of the richest with reports using phrases like ‘it continues to turn out almost fabulous quantities of gold.’³⁰ When some adjustment was made to the plant, they were able to expand their ground and in November 1864, reported 2 pounds of gold for every twelve hours of sluicing.³¹ By 1868, the claim was being worked in two 12 hour shifts each day. The night shift was worked under lights, with a visiting newspaperman describing ‘the claim being worked by night, gives the banks of the river a lively appearance: – paraffin lamps with bright reflectors are used, and their effect upon the surrounding waters is extremely beautiful.’ The claim employed 20 to 30 miners and reportedly achieved a regular 40 to 50 ounces per day with an occasional high of 80.³² It was eventually sold in April 1871, where the water right proved a valuable asset which was able to be redeployed elsewhere in the Manuherikia field.³³

The Frenchman’s claim was not the only such claim, nor was it necessarily the richest, but it serves to illustrate the process of industrialisation which marked the developing goldfield.

²⁸ ‘Mining Intelligence’, *Otago Daily Times*, 10 March 1863, p. 5.

²⁹ ‘The Dunstan’, *Otago Daily Times*, 1 July 1864, p. 5.

³⁰ ‘Dunstan’, *Otago Daily Times*, 11 July 1864, p. 5.

³¹ ‘Dunstan’, *Otago Witness*, 5 November 1864, p. 4.

³² ‘Mining Intelligence’, *Otago Daily Times*, 2 October 1868, p. 3.

³³ ‘Mining Intelligence’, *Otago Witness*, 26 August 1871, p. 9.

Bibliography

Books

Anon., *Design of Small Dams*, a Water Resources Technical Publication, (United States Department of the Interior, Bureau of Reclamation, third edition, 1987)

Anderson, Hugh, *The Colonial Minstrel* (Melbourne: F.W. Cheshire, 1960)

Anderson, S., *Prodigious birds: Moas and Moa-hunting in Prehistoric New Zealand*, (Cambridge, Cambridge UP, 1989)

Annear, Robyn, *Nothing but Gold – the Diggers of 1852*, (Melbourne, Text, 1999)

Arnold, Rollo, *The Farthest Promised Land – English Villagers, New Zealand Immigrants of the 1870s*, (Wellington: Victoria UP, 1981)

Ayson, William, *Pioneering in Otago*, (Dunedin, Reed, 1937)

Ballantyne, Tony, *Webs of Empire* (Wellington, Bridget Williams Books, 2012)

Barry, William Jackson, *Past, Present, and Men of the Times* (Wellington: McKee & Gamble, 1897)

Barthes, Roland, *Mythologies* (Paris: Editions de Seuil, 1957), trs., Annette Lavers (London: Jonathan Cape, 1972)

Bateson, Charles, *Gold Fleet for California – Forty Niners from Australia and New Zealand* (Michigan, Michigan UP, 1964)

Bathgate, Alexander, *Colonial Experiences Or Sketches of People and Places in the Province of Otago, New Zealand* (Glasgow: James Maclehose, 1874)

Baxter, James K., 'Poem in the Matukituki Valley', *Collected Poems of James K. Baxter* (Ed.) J.E. Weir (Auckland, Oxford UP, 1979)

Bean, Julian P., *Bold as a Lion: The Life of Bendigo, Champion of England* (Sheffield, D&D Publications, 2002)

Belich, James, *Making Peoples – a History of the New Zealanders from Polynesian Settlement to the End of the 19th Century* (Auckland, Penguin, 1996),

Bell, Claudia, *Inventing New Zealand – Everyday Myths of Pakeha Identity*, (Auckland, Penguin, 1996),

Blainey, Geoffery, *The Rush That Never Ended* (Melbourne: Melbourne UP, 1963),

Bonwick, James, *Notes of a Gold Digger and Gold Digger's Guide* (Melbourne: E. Connebee, 1852), in *History of the Australian Gold Rushes by those who were there*, ed., Keesing, Nancy (Sydney: Angus & Robertson, 1976)

Bracken, Thomas, *Dear Old Bendigo, (a Sketch of the Early Digging Days), and Rogers of Eaglehawk* (Bendigo: Robshaw, 1892)

Brasch, Charles & Nicolson, C.R., *Hallensteins – The First Century 1873 – 1973* (Dunedin: Hallenstein Bros, 1973)

- Bremner, John Gould, *The Mt. Ida Goldfields – A Merchant's Memories* (First printed in *Mount Ida Chronicle*, 1911), (Dunedin: Maniatoto Early Settlers Association, 1988)
- Brooking, Tom, “‘Tam McCanny and Kitty Clydeside’ – The Scots in New Zealand’, in *The Scots Abroad*, ed. R.A.Cage, (London: Croom Helm, 1976)
- Burdon, Randall M., *King Dick* (Christchurch: Whitcombe and Tombs Ltd., 1955)
- Cahir, D. Fred, *Black Gold – Aboriginal People on the Goldfields of Victoria, 1850-1870*, (Ballarat, Australian National UP, with Aboriginal History Inc, 2012)
- Caughey, John Walton, *Gold Is the Cornerstone*, (Los Angeles, University of California Press, 1948)
- Chanson, Hubert, *Hydraulics of Stepped Chutes and Spillways*, (Rotterdam, Balkema, 2002)
- Chrimes, M., ‘Concrete Foundations and Substructures: a Historical View’ in (Eds.) R.J.M. Sutherland, D. Humm, M. Chrimes, *Historic Concrete: Background to Appraisal* (Reston, Thomas Telford Books, 2001)
- Clacy, Mrs Ellen, *A lady's Visit to the Gold Diggings of Australia in 1852 – 53, Written on the Spot* (London, Hurst & Blackett, 1853)
- Condliffe, John Bell, ‘Economic Development’, in (Eds.) Rose, J.H., Newton, A.P., Benians, E.A., *The Cambridge History of the British Empire*, Vol. VII, Part II: New Zealand (Cambridge, Cambridge UP, 1933)
- Curnow, Allen, ‘Attitudes for a New Zealand Poet III (The Skeleton of the Great Moa in the Canterbury Museum, Christchurch)’ in *Sailing or Drowning* (Wellington: The Progressive Publishing Society, 1943)
- Curnow, Allen, ‘House and Land’, *Island and Time* (Christchurch: Caxton Press 1941),
- Cusack, Frank, *Bendigo, A History* (Melbourne: Heinemann, 1973)
- The Cyclopedia of New Zealand* [Vol. 4, Otago & Southland Provincial Districts] (1905) (Christchurch: The Cyclopedia Company)
- Davis, Fred, *Yearning for Yesterday – a Sociology of Nostalgia* (New York: Free Press, 1979)
- Duff, Geoffrey P., *Sheep May Safely Graze – the Story of Morven Hills Station & the Tarras District* (Tarras, John McIndoe Ltd, 1978),
- Duncan, A.H., *The Wakatipians or Early Days in New Zealand*, (Arrowtown, Lakes District Centennial Museum, 1969 (re-printed from the 1888 original))
- Earp, G. Butler, *The Gold Colonies of Australia, Their History & Progress, With Ample Details of the Gold Mines, How To Get To Them, and Every Advice to Emigrants*, (Routledge & Co., London, 1853 (The Fortieth Thousand)),
- Eklund, Erik, *Mining Towns – Making a Living, Making a Life* (Sydney, New South Wales UP, 2012)
- Eldred-Grigg, Stevan, *Diggers Hatters and Whores* (Auckland: Random House, 2008), p. 66.
- Fahey, Charles, ‘Labour and Trade Unionism in Victorian Goldmining’, in *Gold, Forgotten Histories and Lost Objects of Australia*, ed. McCalman, I., Cook, A., Reeves, A., (Melbourne, Cambridge UP, 2001), pp. 68-70.
- Fairburn, Miles, *The Ideal Society and Its Enemies – the Foundations of Modern New Zealand Society 1850 – 1900* (Auckland, Auckland UP, 1989).

- Fetherling, Donald, *The Gold Crusades*, (Toronto, Toronto UP, 1997).
- Fetzer, C.A., Earth and Rock Fill Cofferdams, in (Ed.) Jansen, R.B. *Advanced Dam Engineering for Design Construction and Rehabilitation*, will (New York, Van Nostrand Reinhold, 1988).
- Flett, James, *The History of Gold Discovery in Victoria* (Melbourne, Hawthorn Press, 1970).
- Foote, K. E., Hugill, P. J., Mathewson, K., and Smith, J. M. (eds.), *Re-Reading Cultural Geography*, (University of Texas Press, Austin, 1995)
- Fraser, Lyndon, *Castles of Gold* (Dunedin, Otago UP, 2007).
- Fulton, Robert Valpy, *Medical practice in Otago and Southland in the early days: a description of the manner of life, trials, and difficulties of some of the pioneer doctors, of the places in which, and of the people among whom, they laboured*, Dunedin, 1922.
- Galvin P., (Ed.) *The New Zealand Mining Handbook*, (Wellington, New Zealand Government Printer, 1906).
- Gardner, W.J. (Jim), 'A Colonial Economy', in *The Oxford History of New Zealand*, 2nd Ed, ed. Geoffrey Rice, (Auckland, Oxford UP, 1992).
- Geikie, Archibald, *Life of Sir Roderick I. Murchison: Based on his Journals and Letters With Notices of His Scientific Contemporaries and a Sketch of the Rise and Growth of Paleozoic Geology in Britain* (London, John Murray, 1875),
- Gilkison, Robert, *Early Days in Central Otago*, (Dunedin, Otago Daily Times, 1930)
- Glasson, Hugh A., *The Golden Cobweb – A Saga of the Otago Goldfields, 1861 – 64*, (Dunedin, Otago Daily Times, 1957)
- Goodman, David, 'Making an Edgier History of Gold', in McCalman, I., Cook, A., Reeves, A., (Eds), *Gold: Forgotten Histories and Lost Objects of Australia*, (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2001),
- Graham Jeanine, 'Settler Society' in *The Oxford History of New Zealand*, 2nd Ed, ed. Geoffrey Rice, ed. Rice, Geoffrey, (Auckland, Oxford UP, 1992)
- Hall-Jones, John, *Goldfields of Otago – an Illustrated History* (Invercargill, Craig Printing Co, 2005),
- Hamel, Jill, *The Rich Fields of Bendigo*, Unpublished Report for the Department of Conservation 1993
- Hassing, George Magnus, *Pages from the Memory Log of G.M. Hassing, Sailor – Pioneer – Schoolmaster*, (Invercargill, Southland Times, 1932)
- Hearn, Terry J. & Hargraves, Raymond P., *The Speculators' Dream*, (Dunedin, Allied press Ltd, 1985)
- Hearn, Terry J., *Nenthorn – Gold and the Gullible* (Dunedin, Otago Heritage Books, 1988)
- Hill, David, *Gold! The Fever That Changed Australia*, (Sydney, Heineman, 2010)
- Hittell, Theodore Henry, *History of California*, Vol. 3 (San Francisco, Stone and Co., 1879)
- Hobsbawm, Eric, 'Inventing Traditions', in *The Invention of Tradition*, eds., Eric Hobsbawm and Terrence Ranger, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983)
- Hocken, Thomas M., *Contributions to the Early History of New Zealand (Settlement of Otago)*, (London, Sampson and Low, Marston and Company, 1898),

- Holden, John M., *The Beginning and Development of Holden Beach 1756-2000* (Charlotte: J.F. Holden Publishing, 2000)
- Holliday, J.S., *The World Rushed in – the California Gold Rush Experience*, (New York, Simon & Schuster, 1981).
- Hoskins, Robert, *Goldfield Balladeer*, (Auckland, Collins, 1977)
- Houston, Alan, *The Goldfields of Otago, A.H. 's Jottings, March 1865*, p. 3 (Hocken Library Archives, Reference PC-0216)
- Howitt, William, *Land, Labour and Gold; or Two Years in Victoria with Visits to Sydney and Van Diemen's Land* (London: Longman, Brown, Green, and Longmans, 1855)
- Hutchins, John Milton, *Diggers, Constables, and Bushrangers – the New Zealand Gold Rushes As a Frontier Experience, 1852 – 1876*, (Lakewood, Avrooman-Apfelwald Press, 2010)
- Jeffery, Alistair, *Ministry of Economic Development Crown Minerals Mineral Report Series MR4062 'The History of Quartz Mining at the Bendigo and Carrick Range Goldfields, Central Otago, New Zealand'*, 1986
- Kelly, George Maurice, *Mill in the Valley: A Centennial History of Arthur Ellis and Company* (Dunedin: Arthur Ellis and Company Limited, 1977)
- Kennedy, Noel & Murray, Ron, *Early Pioneers in the Cromwell Area 1863-1880*, (Cromwell: Cromwell Historical Society, 1999),
- Knudson, D.A., *The Story of Wakatipu*, (Christchurch, Whitcombe and Tombs, 1968)
- Latham, Darrell, *The Golden Reefs, Quartz Mining at Reefton, Waiuta and the Lyell*, (Christchurch, Pegasus Press, 1984),
- Lawrence, Susan, *Dolly's Creek*, (Melbourne, Melbourne UP, 2000)
- Lawson, Henry, 'The Shearers', *When I was King and Other Verses*, (Sydney: Angus and Robertson, 1905)
- Lloyd-Pritchard, M.F., *An Economic History of New Zealand* (Auckland, Collins, 1970)
- Lovell-Smith, E. M., *Old Coaching Days in Otago and Southland*, (Christchurch, Lovell-Smith and Venner, 1931)
- Lowenthal, David, *Possessed by the Past – The Heritage Crusade and the Spoils of History*, (New York, Free Press, 1996)
- Lowenthal, David, *The Past Is a Foreign Country*, (Cambridge, Cambridge UP, 1985)
- May, Philip Ross, *The West Coast Gold Rushes* (Christchurch, Pegasus Press, 1962)
- Mayne, Alan, 'Goldrush Landscapes: an Ethnography,' in *Deeper Leads – New Approaches to Victorian Goldfields History*, eds., Reeves Keir & Nichols, David, (Ballarat, Ballarat Heritage Services, 2007)
- McAloon, Jim, *No Idle Rich – The Wealthy in Canterbury and Otago 1840 – 1914*, (Dunedin: Otago UP, 2002)
- McAloon, Jim, 'The New Zealand Economy', in: G. Byrnes, ed. *The New Oxford History of New Zealand* (Melbourne: Oxford UP, 2009)
- McAra, J.B. (Bert), *Gold Mining at Waihi 1878 – 1952*, (Waihi, Waihi Historical Society, 1878),

- McCraw, John, *The Gold Baron – John Ewing, Central Otago's Mining Entrepreneur*, (Alexandra, Central Stories Museum, 2009)
- McCraw, John, *Gold on the Dunstan*, (Dunedin, Square One Press, 2003)
- McDonald, K.C., *City of Dunedin – a Century of Civic Enterprise* (Dunedin: Dunedin City Corporation, 1965)
- McGowan, Barry, *Dust and Dreams*, (Sydney, New South Wales UP, 2010)
- McKenzie, Florence, *The Sparkling Waters of the Whakatipua*, (Dunedin, Reed, 1948)
- McLean, Gavin, *Sam's Grief* (Dunedin, Otago Heritage Books, 1989)
- Mckay, George, *The History of Bendigo* (Bendigo: Mackay, 1891)
- McLintock, Alexander H., *The History of Otago* (Dunedin, Otago Centennial Historical Publications, 1949)
- McNab, Robert, *Murihiku: A History of the South Island of New Zealand and the Islands Adjacent and Lying to the South, from 1642 to 1835*, (Invercargill, William Smith, 1907)
- Mayhew, William, *Tuapeka – the Land and its People*, 1853 (Dunedin, Whitcombe & Tombs, under the auspices of the Otago Centennial Historical Committee, 1949)
- Millar, J. Halket, *Westland's Golden 'Sixties* (Wellington, Reed, 1959)
- Mitchell, Hilary A. & Mitchell, M. John, *Te Tau Ihu o Te Waka: A History of Maori of Nelson and Marlborough, Vol I, The People and the Land*, (Wellington, Huia Publishers, 2004)
- Mitchell, Hilary A. & Mitchell, M. John, *Te Tau Ihu o Te Waka: A History of Maori of Nelson and Marlborough, Vol II, Te Ara Hou – The New Society* (Wellington, Huia, 2004)
- Money, Charles, *Knocking About in New Zealand* (Melbourne, Samuel Mullen, 1871)
- Monin Paul, *(Hauraki Contested 1769-1875)*, (Wellington, Bridget Williams Books, 2001)
- Ng, James, *Windows on a Chinese Past* (Dunedin, Otago Heritage Books, 1993)
- Olssen, Erik, *A History of Otago*, (Dunedin, John McIndoe, 1984),
- Parcell, James Crombie, *Heart of the Desert - A History of the Cromwell and Bannockburn Districts of Central Otago*, (Dunedin, Otago Centennial Historical Publications, 1951)
- Parry, Gordon, *Underwriting Adventure: the National Insurance Company of New Zealand*, (Dunedin, McIndoe, 1973)
- Parry, Gordon, *Tradition and Change – the First 150 Years of the Dunedin Club*, (Dunedin, The Dunedin Club, 2008)
- Phillips, Jock & Hearn, Terry J., *Settlers – New Zealand Immigrants from England Ireland and Scotland, 1800 – 1945*, (Auckland, Auckland UP, 2008)
- Preshaw, George Ogilvy, *Banking under Difficulties or Life on the Goldfields of Victoria, New South Wales and New Zealand* (Melbourne, Edwards, Dunlop & Co., 1888)
- Portus, G.V., 'The Gold Discoveries, 1850 – 1860', in (Eds.) Rose, J.H., Newton, A.P., Benians, E.A., *The Cambridge History of the British Empire*, Vol. VII, Part I: Australia (Cambridge, Cambridge UP, 1933)
- Prebble, John, *The Highland Clearances*, (Middlesex: Secker & Warburg, 1963)
- M.F. Lloyd Prichard, *An Economic History of New Zealand*, (Auckland: Collins, 1970),

- Pybus, Thomas Arthur, *Maori and Missionary: Early Christian Missions in the South Island of New Zealand*, (Wellington, Reed Publishing, 1954)
- Pyke, Vincent, *History of the Early Gold Discoveries in Otago*, (Dunedin, Otago Daily Times and Witness Newspapers Company, 1887)
- Pyke, Vincent, *Wild Will Enderby*, (R.T. Wheeler: Dunedin, 1873)
- Reed, Alfred Hamish, *The Story of Otago – Age of Adventure* (Wellington, A. H. and A.W. Reed, 1947)
- Reeves, Keir, 'Hargraves Discovers Gold at Ophir: Australia's "golden age,"' in *Turning Points in Australian History*, eds., Martin Crotty, and David A. Roberts, (Sydney, University of New South Wales UP, 2009)
- Reeves, William Pember, *The Long White Cloud*, (London, Bradford and Dickens, 1898),
- Reynolds, Henry, 'Violence in Australian History' in *Australian Violence: Contemporary Perspectives*, eds., Duncan Chappell, Peter Grabosky and Heather Strang (Canberra: Australian Institute of Criminology, 1991)
- Richardson, Len 'British Colliers and Colonial Capitalists: the Origins of Coalmining Unionism in New Zealand' in *Common Cause: Essays in Australian and New Zealand Labour History*, ed. Eric Fry (Wellington: Allen & Unwin/ Port Nicholson Press, 1986)
- Roth, Herbert, *Trade Unions in New Zealand*, (Wellington: Reed, 1973)
- Roxburgh, Irvine, *Wanaka Story*, (Dunedin, Otago Centennial Historical Publications, 1957)
- Rusden, George William, *History of New Zealand. Volume I*, (London, Chapman and Hall Limited, 1883)
- Salmon, John H., *History of Goldmining in New Zealand* (Wellington, Government Printer, 1963)
- Salmond, James David, *New Zealand Labour's Pioneering Days*, (Ed.) Desmond Crowley, (Auckland, Forward Press, 1950)
- Schofield, A.J. 'Now We Know: The Role of Research in Archaeological Conservation Practices in England,' in *Cultural Resource Management in Contemporary Society*, edited by McMannamon, Francies and Hatton, Alf, 76–93. (Routledge, London, 2000), p. 86.
- Scholefield, Guy Hardy, *Newspapers and New Zealand* (Wellington, Reed, 1958)
- Schweikart L., Pierson Doti, L. 'From Hard Money to Branch Banking: California Banking in the Gold-Rush Economy', in Orsi R.J. & Rawls, J.L., eds. *A Golden State – Mining and Economic Development in Gold Rush California*, California Historical Society, California History Sesquicentennial Vol. 2, 1999, pp. 209-232
- Serle, Geoffrey, *The Golden Age – A History of the Colony of Victoria, 1851-1861* (Melbourne, Melbourne UP, 1963)
- Shumway, G.L. Vredenburg, L., Hartill, R., *Desert Fever: an Overview of Mining in the California Desert Conservation Area*, (Riverside, Bureau of Land Management, US Department of the Interior, 1980)
- Sinclair, Keith, & Mendle William F., *Open Account: a History of the Bank of New South Wales in New Zealand 1861 – 1961*, (Wellington, Whitcombe & Tombs, 1961)
- Sinclair, Robert Sproull Menzies, *Kawarau Gold*, (Dunedin, Whitcombe and Tombs, 1962)

Smallfield, Jane & Heenan, Brian, *Above the Belt: a History of the suburb of Maori Hill* (Dunedin, Otago UP, 2006)

Smith, Laurajane, *Uses of Heritage* (London, Routledge, 2006)

Stewart, William Downie, *Brief History of the Dunedin Club (otherwise known as Fernhill Club)*, Dunedin, Coulls Somerville Wilkie, 1948)

Tacon, P. S. C., 'Identifying ancient sacred landscapes in Australia: From physical to social' in Ashmore, W., and Knapp, A. B. (eds.), *Archaeologies of Landscape: Contemporary Perspectives*, (Blackwell Publishers, Malden, MA, 1999)

Taylor, Bayard, *Eldorado, or, Adventures in the Path of Empire: Comprising a Voyage to California, via Panama; Life in San Francisco and Monterey; Pictures of the Gold Region, and Experiences of Mexican Travel* (New York, Putnam, 1851)

Taylor, Richard, *Te Ika a Maui Or New Zealand and Its Inhabitants, Illustrating the Origin, Manners, Customs, Mythology, Religion, Rites, Songs, Proverbs, Fables, and Language of the Natives. Together with the Geology, Natural History, Productions, and Climate of the Country; Its State As Regards Christianity; Sketches of the Principal Chiefs, and Their Present Position; with a Map and Numerous Illustrations* - chapter XVII: Climate (London, Wertheim and MacIntosh, 1855)

Taylor, William Anderson, *Lore and History of the South Island Maori*, (Christchurch, Bascands, 1950)

Todd Corporation, *The Todd Group of Companies* (Wellington, Todd Corporation, 1983)

Turner, Brian, 'Theatre Country' in *Just This* (Wellington, Victoria University Press, 2009)

Turner, John William, "Coal Mining in Newcastle 1801 – 1900," *Newcastle History Monographs* Number 9, (Newcastle, Newcastle Public Library, 1982)

Urry, S., 'How Societies Remember the Past', Smith, L. (Ed.) *Cultural Heritage – Critical Concepts in Media and Cultural Studies*, *Critical Concepts in Heritage*, Vol. 2, (New York, Routledge, 2007)

Waite, Fred, *(Pioneering in South Otago)*, (Dunedin, Whitcombe & Tombs, under the auspices of the Otago Centennial Historical Committee, 1948)

Watmuff, John Henry, *The Journals of John Henry Watmuff New Zealand Extracts, 1861-1864*

Wilson, Eva, *Hakoro Ki Te Iwi – The Story of Captain Howell and His Family*, (Orepuki, Eva Wilson, 1976)

Wood, June A., *Gold Trails of Otago*, (Wellington, Reed, 1970)

Wright, Matthew, *Old South*, (Auckland, Penguin, 2009)

Wright, Matthew, *Reed Illustrated History of New Zealand*, (Auckland, Reed, 2004)

Journal Articles

Anon., 'Colenso and Chevalier Gustav Schmidt', *Colenso*, Vol II, No. 4, April 2011

Anon., 'A Gold Digger's Notes', in (Ed.) Charles Dickens, *All the Year Round*, Vol.10, (258) 2 April 1864

Anschuetz, Kurt F., Wilshusen, Richard H. & Scheick, Cherie L., 'An Archaeology of Landscapes: Perspectives and Directions', *Journal of Archaeological Research*, Vol. 9, No. 2, 2001

Beggs-Sunter, Anne, & Williams, Paul, 'Eureka's impact on Victorian politics: the fight for Democratic Responsible Government in Victoria, 1854-7', in the proceedings of Labour Traditions: The tenth national labour history conference, 4-6 July 2007, University of Melbourne

Beggs-Sunter, Anne, 'Contested Memories of Eureka: Museum Interpretations of the Eureka Stockade', *Labour History* 85 2003

Bieber, Ralph P., 'California Gold Mania', *The Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, Vol. 35, No. 1, 1948

Blackton, Charles S., 'The Dawn of Australian National Feeling, 1850-1856', *Pacific Historical Review* 24.2 (1955)

Blainey, Geoffrey, 'A Theory of Mineral Discovery: Australia in the Nineteenth Century', *Economic History Review*, 23:2, 1970, pp. 298-313

Blosseville, M. Jules, 'Mémoire Géographique sur La Nouvelle-Zélande', in *Nouvelles Annales Des Voyages de la Géographie et de L'Histoire*, Publiées par MM. J.B. Eyriès et Malte-Brun Paris 1826, Tome XXIX

Brooking, Tom, 'Use it or Lose it. Unravelling the Land Debate in Late Nineteenth-Century New Zealand', *New Zealand Journal of History*, 1996, 30, 2

Carpenter, Lloyd, 'A 35 Year Endeavour: Bendigo's Rise and Shine Sluicing Syndicate', *Australasian Historical Archaeology*, Vol. 30, 2012

Carpenter, Lloyd, 'Beyond Spectacular Beauty: The Heritage Experience at the Central Otago Mining Town of Bendigo', in proceedings of 'On The Surface: The Heritage of Mines and Mining' Innsbruck, Austria, April 14-16, 2011, Centre for Tourism and Cultural Change, Leeds Metropolitan University with the University of Innsbruck,

Carpenter, Lloyd, 'Reviled in the Record: Thomas Logan, and the Origins of the Cromwell Quartz Mining Company, Bendigo, Otago.' *Journal of Australasian Mining History*, Vol. 9, September, 2011

Carpenter, Lloyd, 'Defining a Date and Place in the Otago Gold Rush: The Problematic Journal of George Magnus Hassing and Bendigo', *Australasian Journal of Mining History*, 2012, 10

Chanson, Hubert, 'Historical Development of Stepped Cascades for the Dissipation of Hydraulic Energy', *Transactions of the Newcomen Society*, 71 (2000) 2: pp. 306-7

Chanson, Hubert, 'Crib Weirs in Queensland, Australia: Some Heritage with a Solid Operational Record', *Royal Historical Society of Queensland Journal*, 18 3: 115-129

Cosgrove, D. E., 'Prospect, Perspective and the Evolution of the Landscape Idea', *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* 1985, 10

Cutter, Donald C., 'Some Musings on the Gold Rush and Its Hispanic Heritage', *The Western Historical Quarterly*, Vol. 30, No. 4, 1999

Cutter, Donald C., 'The Discovery of Gold in California', [in] *Geologic Guidebook Along Highway 49 – Sierran Gold Belt – The Mother Lode Country: California Division of Mines Bulletin 141*, 1948, p. 13-17.

Dutta, P., Matros, A., Weibull, J.W., 'Long-Run Price Competition', *The RAND Journal of Economics*, 2007, 38, 2, pp. 291-313

Fedorak, C.J., 'The United States Consul in Victoria and the Political Destiny of the Colony of British Columbia, 1862 – 1870', *Journal of British Columbia Studies*, no. 79, Autumn 1988

Forrest, James, 'Population and Settlement on the Otago Goldfields, 1861-1870', *New Zealand Geographer* 1961, 17(1)

Frost, Warwick, 'Refighting the Eureka Stockade: Managing and Marketing the Heritage of a Dissonant Battlefield', Monash University Department of Management and Economics Working Paper Series ISSN 1327 – 5216, (paper presented at the Council for Australian University Tourism and Hospitality Education Conference, University of Technology Sydney, Manly, February 2007)

Frost, Warwick, 'Making an Edgier Interpretation of the Gold Rushes: Contrasting Perspectives from Australia and New Zealand', *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, 2005, 11 3

Frost, Warwick, Laing, Jennifer, Wheeler, Fiona, Reeves, Keir, Weiler, Betty, *Bendigo Chinese Heritage Precinct Marketing and Interpretation Plan*, Monash University Tourism Research Unit, Monash University, July 2007

Galbraith, J.K., 'Monopoly Power and Price Rigidities', *The Quarterly Journal of Economics*, 1936 50, 3, pp. 456-475

Giffen, G.J., 'California Gold', *The Quarterly: Historical Society of Southern California*, Vol. 30, No. 1 March 1948

Guinn, J. M., 'The Gold Placers of Los Angeles', *Annual Publication of the Historical Society of Southern California*, Vol. 8, No. 3 1911, pp. 228-233

Hall, S., 'Whose Heritage? Unsettling "the Heritage", Reimagining the Post-Nation', *Third Text*, 49 winter 1999 – 2000

Hamer, David, 'Towns in Nineteenth Century New Zealand', *New Zealand Journal of History* 13, 1979, 1

Hamilton, Gary G., 'The Structural Sources of Adventurism: the Case of the California Gold Rush', *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 83, No. 6, 1978

Hart, Philip, 'Maori and Mining: A Case Study of Hone Werahiko and Te Aroha', *Journal of Australasian Mining History*, Vol. 1, 1, 2003

Lambson, V.E., 'Competitive Profits in the Long Run', *The Review of Economic Studies*, 1992, 59, 1, pp. 125-142

Martin, John E., 'The Struggle for £1. The Emergence of the Shearers' Union in the 1870s', *The New Zealand Journal of History*, 24, No. 1, 1990

Mein Smith, Philippa & Hempenstall, Peter, 'Australia and New Zealand: Turning Shared Pasts into a Shared History', *History Compass* 1 (2003) AU 031

Murray, D.L., 'Regional Hydrology of the Clutha River', *Journal of Hydrology (NZ)*, vol 14 2 1975

- Neghabat, F., & Stark, R.M., 'A Cofferdam Design Optimization', *Mathematical Programming*, 1972, 3, pp. 263 – 264
- Palmer, Francis W., 'Gold Rush Language', *American speech*, Vol. 43, No. 2, 1968, p. 85
- Park, James, 'Gold Deposits in Otago', *The New Zealand Mines Record*, XI, 11, 16 June 1908
- Perrett, Tony, Reserves Ranger, Department of Lands and Survey, Otago: 'Managing the Otago Goldfields Park', paper presented at seminar on Industrial Archaeology, Christchurch (March 1983). Publication updated by the Department of Conservation, 2010
- Petchey, Peter, 'Port's Water Race (D46/143), Longwood Range, Southland: The Archaeology & Interpretation of an Extensive Water Race System', *Archaeology in New Zealand* 45 4, 2003 pp. 223-234
- 'Pioneer' (Jolly, David A.), 'Early Gold Discoveries in Otago 'by "Pioneer"', *New Zealand Mines Record*, 4, November 16 1908
- Pitt, Leonard, 'The Beginnings of Nativism in California', *Pacific Historical Review*, 30, 1, 1961, pp, 27 – 37
- Rawls, J.J., Gold Diggers: Indian Miners in the California Gold Rush, *California Historical Quarterly*, Vol. 55, No. 1, Spring, 1976
- Reeves, Keir, 'Tracking the Dragon Down Under: Chinese Cultural Connections in Gold Rush Australia and Aotearoa, New Zealand', *Graduate Journal of Asia-Pacific Studies*, 3:1, 2005.
- Reeves, Keir & McConville, Chris, 'Cultural Landscape and Goldfield Heritage: Towards a Land Management Framework for the Historic South-West Pacific Gold Mining Landscapes', *Landscape Research*, 2011, 36:2, 191-207.
- Richards, Eric, 'Varieties of Scottish Emigration in the Nineteenth Century', *Historical Studies* 21 1985
- Ritchie, Neville, 'Archaeological Interpretation of Alluvial Gold Tailings Sites, Central Otago, New Zealand' in *New Zealand Journal of Archaeology*, 1981 3:51-69
- Rosenberg, Bruce A., 'The Folklore of the Gold Rush', *Huntington Library Quarterly*, Vol. 44, No. 4, 1981
- Simpson, Tony, 'The Holt Narrative and the Industrial Relations Agenda,' *New Zealand Journal of Industrial Relations* 12, no. 3, 1987
- Tracey, Michael M., 'No Water - No Gold: Hydrological Technology in Nineteenth Century Gold Mining - An Archaeological Examination' in R. K. and M. M. Tracey (eds.) *The Australian Historical Mining Association: Conference Proceedings 1996*, Home Planet Design and Publishing, Canberra, 1997, pp. 12-13
- Traue, James Edward, 'Reading as a "Necessity of Life" on the Tuapeka Goldfields in Nineteenth-Century New Zealand', *Library History*, 23, March 2007
- Trevarthen, C., 'After the Gold Is Gone: Chinese Communities in North-East Victoria, 1861 – 1914', *Journal of Chinese Australia*, issue 2, October 2006, available at http://www.chaf.lib.latrobe.edu.au/jca/issue02/09Trevarthen.html#_edn26 accessed 19 February 2013.
- Tsahuridu, Eva, 'Anomie and Ethics at Work'. *Journal of Business Ethics* 69, 2006, pp. 163-174

Turner, John William, 'An Incident at Minmi, 1895', *Labour History*, No. 6, May, 1964,

Appendices to the House of Representatives (by date)

Petition to His Excellency and the Houses of Assembly from the Settlers of Murihiku, Relative to Provincial Separation, (Ordered to be printed, May 11th, 1858), Auckland: 1858. Maitauro, 2nd May, 1857, 1858 Session I, D-02.

Report to Both Houses of the General Assembly, Report on the Otago Gold Fields, 1863 Session I, D-06.

Joseph Dods, Testimony, 1878 Session I, I-01a , Goldfields Committee, (Report of, On Petition of Daniel James Moore, Together with Minutes of Evidence.), October 11 1878

Goldfields Committee, (Report of, On Petition of Daniel James Moore, Together with Minutes of Evidence.) I.—IA 1878. NEW ZEALAND. Brought up 11th October 1878

Reports of the Gold Fields Committee (Mr. C.A. De Latour, Chairman), – No. 127, Session I – Petition of J.C. Baylea and Others, of Waikerikeri Valley. 1879 Session II, I-03

Introduction of Coal-Miners for the Westport Colliery Company (Limited), (Correspondence Relative to the)' presented to both Houses of the General Assembly, by W. Rolleston, Minister for Immigration, printed in the Section D-4, 1880

Reports of the Gold Fields Committee (Mr. C.A. De Latour, Chairman), No. 261 – Petition of Jean Désiré Feraud, 1882 Session I, I-03

The Goldfields of New Zealand: Report on Roads, Water Races, Mining Machinery, and Other Works in Connection with Mining, 1902 Session I, C-03

The Goldfields of New Zealand: Report on Roads, Water-races, Mining Machinery, and other Works in Connection with Mining, 1903 Session I, C-03,

The Goldfields of New Zealand (Report on) , 1909 Session II, C-03, p.76; Mines Statement, by the Hon. W. Fraser, Minister of Mines, 1914 Session I, C-02,

Newspapers

Advertiser Adelaide

Auckland Star Auckland

Bacchus Marsh Express Melbourne

Bathurst Free Press and Mining Journal Bathurst

Bendigo Advertiser Bendigo, Victoria

Braidwood Independent New South Wales

Brisbane Courier Brisbane

Bruce Herald Milton, N.Z.

The Bulletin, Sydney

The City Paper Nashville

Clarence and Richmond Examiner and New England Advertiser Grafton, New South Wales

Colonist Nelson

Cornwall Chronicle Tasmania

Courier Brisbane

Cromwell Argus Cromwell

Daily Southern Cross, Auckland

Democratic State Register (Watertown, Wisconsin)

Dominion Post, Wellington

Dunedin Herald Dunedin

Dunstan Times Clyde

Empire Sydney

Evelyn Observer, and South and East Bourke Record Melbourne

Evening Post, Wellington

Goulburn Herald and County of Argyll Advertiser Goulburn New South Wales

Grey River Argus Greymouth

Gympie Times Gympie

Hawke's Bay Herald Napier

Hutt News Lower Hutt

Lyttelton Times Lyttelton

Maitland Mercury & Hunter River General Advertiser Maitland

Melbourne Argus (also, *Argus*) Melbourne

Melbourne Herald Melbourne

Moreton Bay Courier Brisbane

Nelson Examiner and New Zealand Chronicle Nelson

New York Times New York

New Zealander Auckland

New Zealand Spectator and Cook's Strait Guardian Wellington

New Zealand Tablet national

North Otago Times Oamaru

Northern Miner Charters Towers

Otago Colonist and Dunedin and Invercargill Advertiser Dunedin

Otago Daily Times Dunedin

Otago News Dunedin

Otago Provincial Government Gazette Dunedin

Otago Witness Dunedin

Otautau Standard and Wallace County Chronicle Otautau (Southland)

Polynesian Hawaii

Portland Guardian and Normanby General Advertiser Portland, Victoria

Press Christchurch

Pyrenees Herald Gippsland

Queenslander Brisbane

South Australian Register Adelaide

Southern Cross Auckland

The Southland News Invercargill

Star Ballarat

Star Christchurch

Strand Magazine United Kingdom

Sydney Morning Herald Sydney

Taranaki Herald New Plymouth

Tuapeka Times Lawrence

Time Magazine United States of America

Waikato Times Hamilton

Wellington Independent Wellington

West Coast Times Hokitika

Websites

Am Baile, The Highland History & Culture website, newspaper archives section, Orkney,
http://www.ambaile.org.uk/gd/newspapers/search_results.jsp?newspaper=0&PrimarySubject=0&startyear=&endyear=&keywords=&StartRow=6604

Anonymous, Central Otago 'World of Difference' Website,
<http://www.centralotagonz.com/otagos-gold-heritage>

Bendigo History Society Inc. website
http://www.bendigohistory.com/discovery_of_gold.shtml

Bendigo Land Tenure Review File, <http://www.linz.govt.nz/docs/crownproperty/tenure-review/heads-of-agreement/bendigo-pt1.pdf>

British Library, Concise History of the British Newspaper in the Nineteenth Century
<http://www.bl.uk/>

United Kingdom Parliament, Big Ben <http://www.parliament.uk/about/living-heritage/building/palace/big-ben/building-clock-tower/great-bell/>

California Maritime Heritage Project, D. Blethen Adams Levy, San Francisco
<http://www.maritimeheritage.org/>

Civil War Wrecks of Lockwood Folly Inlet Website <http://southcarolina-offshore.com/content-print-page-13.html>

Colenso project website's newsletter of April 2011:
www.colensostudy.id.au/Newsletters/newsletter%20April11.pdf

Dam Safety Guidelines, Part Two: Guidelines for the Building of Minimal Hazard Dams, Auckland regional Council, p.3.
<http://www.arc.govt.nz/albany/fms/main/Documents/Plans/Technical%20publications/101-150/TP109%20Dam%20safety%20guidelines%20Part%202.pdf>.

Hubert De Castella, *John Bull's vineyard : Australian sketches*, quoted on the Wine Australia website <http://www.wineaustralia.com/australia/Default.aspx?tabid=4513>

Explore South Africa Tourism Website,
http://www.traveljournals.net/explore/south_africa/locations/b/45.html

Department of Conservation Website > Conservation > Historic > Managing Heritage > DOCs Role in Historic Heritage <http://www.doc.govt.nz/conservation/historic/managing-heritage/docs-role/>

Early New Zealand Statutes Project, University of Auckland Library: Act for the Naturalization of Certain Persons in the Colony of New Zealand, Return of Persons Naturalized since 11th November, 1863, entry date 28 September, 1864.;
<http://www.enss.auckland.ac.nz/docs/1864/1864A012.pdf>

Michael Gates, Yukon New Website, 'Rooting Out the Family Tree Can Reveal Fascinating History', <http://yukon-news.com/opinions/columns/24185/>

'Golden Days', *American Sentinel*, 17 September 1828, quoted by Anonymous Internet Blog *Gold Rush Stories*, <http://camcca.wordpress.com/language-of-the-gold-rush/>

Hebden Family Genealogy website, John Hebden, lead researcher,
<http://www.hebdens.com/Tree%20Charts/Sheet%2030%20London%20Leeds%20Michigan.pdf> Chart 30, F38/30

Industrial Heritage of England, Shropshire Tub Boat Canals, <http://www.pittdixon.go-plus.net/tub-boat-canals/tub-boat-canals.htm> (includes a discussion of Telford's design of similar structures)

Robert James, Origins of the Hunter Labour Movement, *Radical Tradition History Website*, <http://www.takver.com/history/hunterlabour.htm#fn32>

Marae Melbourne Website, report '*Pasifika Victoria "The Way Forward"*', South Pacific Foundation of Victoria Inc., November 2007, URL:
<http://www.maraemelbourne.net/thereport.php>

Paul Metsers, (Chorus) *Farewell to the Gold*, 1969, From New Zealand Folk Song Website, <http://folksong.org.nz/fwltgold/>,

Misha's Vineyard, URL <http://www.mishasvineyard.com/reveal/the-legend-of-ah-foo/>

Michael Moore, editor of the reprint of Benjamin Colby Milford, *A Guide to Health*, N.H., 1846 - <http://www.swsbn.com/ManualsOther/Colby-6.txt>

W.G. Mouat *Devonport Ahoy! Recollections by Gilbert & Dick Mouat, The Memoirs of William Gilbert Mouat 1863 – 1956, Land surveyor, Mine surveyor, Gold Miner, Gold*

dredge operator, designer & builder, Engineering consultant. Broad, M.O, (ed.), Dunedin.
<http://www.rgreen.org.uk/WGM.html>;

National Library of New Zealand, Te Puna Mātauranga o Aotearoa, Papers past Website:
 Otago Witness, <http://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/cgi-bin/paperspast?a=d&cl=CL1.OW&essay=1>

National Library of New Zealand Te Puna Mātauranga o Aotearoa, Wellington Independent,
<http://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/cgi-bin/paperspast?a=d&cl=CL1.WI&essay=1&e=-----10--1----0-->

New Zealand Archaeological Association, Archaeological Site Recording Scheme, ARCH SITE (<http://www.archsite.org.nz/>) archaeological records S124/308 and S12/309

New Zealand Historic Places Trust 2005; OT 39/110 24 September 1884; New Zealand Historic Places Trust Register, Cardrona Hotel False Front, register number 2239,
<http://www.historic.org.nz/TheRegister/RegisterSearch/RegisterResults.aspx?RID=2239>,

New Zealand Historic Places Trust, Historic Places Register, Oliver's Restaurant and Lodge Complex,
<http://www.historic.org.nz/TheRegister/RegisterSearch/RegisterResults.aspx?RID=5187>
 Updated 9-Dec-2005

Ng, J., *The Chinese Goldseekers in Otago*, presentation at Monash University, 19 June 2003 (available: <http://www.stevenyoung.co.nz/the-chinese-in-new-zealand/What-s-New/Chinese-goldseekers-in-Otago.html>)

Otago Goldfields Heritage Trust website, <http://goldfieldstrust.org.nz/2012/06/28/come-in-time-battery-signage-completed/>

Pennsylvania Department of Conservation and Natural Resources Website, Pennsylvania State Parks section, Bendigo, <http://www.dcnr.state.pa.us/stateparks/parks/bendigo.aspx>

L. Pozzi, letter to Josephine 4 January, 1905, Melbourne, published on International Service of the Swiss Broadcasting Corporation website, http://www.swissinfo.ch/eng/specials/swiss-italian_migrations/new_world/I_have_made_a_very_bad_calculation.html?cid=994482

Rideau Canal World Heritage Site, Tales of the Rideau, K.W. Watson, "Washed Away – The Story of the Building of the Hogs Back Dam", <http://www.rideau-info.com/canal/tales/hogsback-dam.html>

Ring Magazine's Boxing Hall of Fame

http://boxrec.com/media/index.php/Bendigo_Thompson; <http://www.ibhof.com/pages/about/inductees/pioneer/thompson.html>.

SBS Australia Channel – *Gold: Early Gold Discoveries*, Website
<http://www.sbs.com.au/gold/story.php?storyid=25>

Schnapps Speights Bar Ruapehu Image Gallery,
<http://www.schnappsbarruapehu.com/index.php/site/speights-funny-schnapps>

Scotland's Places Government website, Bendigo De-gaussing station,
http://www.scotlandspplaces.gov.uk/search_item/index.php?service=RCAHMS&id=191512

Solid Energy, Corporate Website, 'Early History: Buller',
<http://solidenergy.co.nz/index.cfm/1,194,0,49.html>

United Kingdom Parliament, Big Ben <http://www.parliament.uk/about/living-heritage/building/palace/big-ben/building-clock-tower/great-bell/>

Upper Clutha Anglican parish website, St Andrews Anglican Church, Cromwell.

[Http://www.ucangparish.co.nz/services/St%20Andrews/st%20andrews.html](http://www.ucangparish.co.nz/services/St%20Andrews/st%20andrews.html)

Victorian Government website 'The Gold Rush':

<http://www.victoria.org.au/the%20gold%20rush.htm>

Wines Victoria website <http://vwia.org/content.asp?id=37>

'Winterbourne Family History Online' by Frenchay Village Museum, Frederick Tuckett,

Born Frenchay 1807 Chief Surveyor of the New Zealand Company, Letters and Journals

written by Frederick <http://www.frenchaymuseumarchives.co.uk/FrederickTuckettLetters.htm>

Australian Dictionary of Biography, National Centre of Biography, Australian National University

Duncan, W. G. K., 'Portus, Garnet Vere (Jerry) (1883–1954)',

<http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/portus-garnet-vere-jerry-8082/text14103>

Gittins, Jean, 'McLachlan, Lachlan (1810–1885)', Australian Dictionary of Biography,

National Centre of Biography, Australian National University,

<http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/mclachlan-lachlan-4118/text6587>

Marchant, Leslie R., 'Blosseville, Jules Poret de (1802–1833)',

<http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/blosseville-jules-poret-de-1799/text2041>

Mozley, Ann, 'Clarke, William Branwhite (1798–1878)',

<http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/clarke-william-branwhite-3228/text4865>,

Rolfe, Amanda M., 'McColl, James Hiers (1844–1929)',

<http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/mccoll-james-hiers-7317/text12693>

Turner, John William, 'Brown, James (1816–1894)', <http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/brown-james-3078/text4547>,

The Dictionary of New Zealand Biography. Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand

Anderson, Atholl, 'Tuhawaiki, Hone - Tuhawaiki, Hone',

<http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/biographies/1t110/tuhawaiki-hone>

Anderson, Atholl, 'Ellison, Thomas Rangiwahia - Ellison, Thomas Rangiwahia',

<http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/biographies/2e7/ellison-thomas-rangiwahia>

Angus, John H., 'Reid, Donald - Biography', <http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/biographies/2r13/1>

Bardsley, D., 'Rural language', <http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/rural-language/1/3>

Boast, Richard, 'Te tango whenua – Māori land alienation - Raupatu – confiscations',

<http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/te-tango-whenua-maori-land-alienation/page-4>,

Brooking, Tom, 'Cargill, William - Biography',

<http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/biographies/1c4/1>

Broughton, William S., 'Bracken, Thomas - Biography',

<http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/biographies/2b35/1>

Bernard John Foster, 'CUTTEN, William Henry', <http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/1966/cutten-william-henry>

Bernard John Foster, 'BRYDONE, Thomas', <http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/1966/brydone-thomas>

Donald Gordon. 'Speight, Charles - Biography', <http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/biographies/3s29/1>

George Griffiths. 'Fenwick, George - Biography', <http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/biographies/2f4/1>

John Gully, 'Todd, Charles', <http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/1966/todd-charles/1>

John Hall-Jones, 'Caddell, James - Caddell, James', <http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/biographies/1c1/caddell-james>,

T. J. Hearn. 'Pyke, Vincent - Pyke, Vincent', <http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/biographies/2p33/pyke-vincent>

T. J. Hearn. 'Fox, William - Fox, William', <http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/biographies/1f16/fox-william>,

T. J. Hearn. 'Read, Thomas Gabriel', <http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/biographies/1r3>

Alan Henderson. 'Insurance - Early fire and general insurance', <http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/insurance/2>

McLintock, Alexander, from An Encyclopaedia of New Zealand, edited by A. H. McIntock, originally published in 1966, 'Colonial Bank', <http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/1966/disasters-and-mishaps-financial/page-2>

McLintock, Alexander, from An Encyclopaedia of New Zealand, edited by A. H. McIntock, originally published in 1966, 'Cromwell' <http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/1966/cromwell/1>

McLintock, Alexander, from An Encyclopaedia of New Zealand, edited by A. H. McIntock, originally published in 1966, 'Early Traces', <http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/1966/gold-discoveries/1>

Mentiplay, Cedric Raymond, 'Barry, "Captain" William Jackson', <http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/1966/barry-captain-william-jackson/1>

Ng, James, 'Sew Hoy, Charles - Sew Hoy, Charles' <http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/biographies/2s14/sew-hoy-charles>

Palmer, Mervyn, 'Brydone, Thomas', <http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/biographies/2b45/brydone-thomas>

Parry, Gordon, 'Kempthorne, Thomas Whitelock - Biography', <http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/biographies/1k8/1>

Phillips Jock, 'History of immigration - The great migration: 1871 to 1885', <http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/history-of-immigration/page-8>

Sinclair, John G., *Hocken Collections Bulletin* 38, The Squatters' Club, p. 6, http://www.otago.ac.nz/library/pdf/hoc_fr_bulletins/Bull%2058%20pts1+2.pdf

[NZ History online \(Ministry for Culture and Heritage\).](#)

Boyd incident - a frontier of chaos? <http://www.nzhistory.net.nz/culture/maori-european-contact-before-1840/the-boyd-incident>, (Ministry for Culture and Heritage)

'Union Steam Ship Company flag', <http://www.nzhistory.net.nz/media/photo/union-steamship-company-flag>

Structurae Website: International Database and Gallery of Structures

Cunningham Weir, <http://en.structurae.de/structures/data/index.cfm?id=s0000863>

Edwards Dam, <http://en.structurae.de/structures/data/index.cfm?id=s0001069>

Fairmont Dam, <http://en.structurae.de/structures/data/index.cfm?id=s0003421>

Tulloch Mill Crib Dam, <http://en.structurae.de/structures/data/index.cfm?id=s0011650>